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THE LIFE OF THOMAS CHATTERTON. BY JOHN DAVIS, AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS IN AMERICA."

AN extraordinary concurrence of circumstances has invested the name of Chatterton with peculiar interest; and has placed a boy, singular, it is true, and possessed of talents, but not pre-eminently raised, as we feel assured, by mighty intellect above his fellows, on the same throne of fame with a Shakspeare and a Milton, and in a condition successfully to contest the crown of genius with these acknowledged and proud favourites of Nature and the Muse. The cause of Chatterton, permitted as he was to rush into the grave from penury and despair, has engaged the attention of an enlightened age; and, while the ground in which he rests has been strewn with the offerings of almost all the poets of the day, every event of his life has been explored with the most minute enquiry, and has been produced to the world with the most ostentatious display of exaggerated importance. If indeed he were the creator of those poems which he attributed to Rowley, it must be confessed that the posthumous honours which have been offered to him, are as yet inadequate to the claims of his genius; and that we

must still exert ourselves for expressions to impart our full sense of those intellectual powers, which appear so greatly to transcend the accustomed liberality of Providence in its intercourse with man. But, on the contrary, if this theme of so many pens, who has been obtruded on us as the just object of almost idolatrous admiration, should be discovered not to be the impostor for whom he has passed, and in whose character alone he has been illustrious; it is surely high time to drop the curtain on the piece, and to dismiss the theatrical monarch from his accidental greatness to that mediocrity of rank which is properly his own.

To discuss and to determine, as far as it can now be determined, this controverted and, in some views of it, this important and interesting question, was the motive which impelled us to select the life of Chatterton by Mr. J. Davis for the subject of an article in our Review. This inducement indeed alone could have led us to such a choice: for whoever may have read the production which is now before us, must immediately be sensible that, formed as it wholly is with shreds and patches from Dr. Gregory's most respectable narrative of the same life, ill arranged and sewed together with expression, which is sometimes very big and sometimes very little, it cannot be an object for the grasp and examination of criticism.

In a short advertisement, prefixed to his little volume, Mr. Davis informs us that "a new life of the Boy-bard was indisputably wanted; that the task was *undertaken* by the author with no small *diligence*; and that he has endeavoured to make his biography agreeable, entertaining and instructive." If we are disposed to admit the premises of Mr. Davis in this sentence, which we have varied from the original only by transferring its government from the first to the third person, we must thank him for the spirit with which he undertook, and for the effect which he has endeavoured to communicate to his biography. Though he cannot expect us to congratulate him on his success, we must at least respect his zeal and his ambition; and in

any event pronounce these qualities, when exerted in a literary cause, to be entitled to our praise. To Mr. Davis, though from a hint in his present work we rather suspect that his previous authorship has suffered from the discountenance of the Edinburgh Reviewers, we profess ourselves to be altogether strangers, unacquainted with every thing connected with him but his name, as it stands in the title-page of the volume, which is now in our hands. He may be a veteran book-maker, and then his condition will be desperate: but if he be a young man, as yet unpractised in composition, we will indulge a hope that, in time, and with the proper cultivation of his mind and taste, he may produce something more worthy of the public attention. Amidst the numerous and staring faults of his page, there is a discovery of vigour, which induces us to think that, by correcting his bad and improving his good points, Mr. Davis may yet accomplish his purpose of attaining rank as an author. For the present at least we wish that he would not aim at eloquence or pathos; but, when under the temptation, would reflect that, with respect to these, the attempt and not the deed is certain to confound. Some of Mr. Davis's sentences are good; and his criticism is occasionally not bad: this however is frequently rested on reasonings which are false; and we often find his conclusions at notable variance with his premises. When we cite the following passage from Mr. Davis's production, our object, without censuring or approving, is merely to exhibit a very striking copy of one of the most weak and reprehensible of Doctor Johnson's critical observations. If we had forgotten this writer's remarks on the *Lycidas* of Milton, and for the credit of their maker they ought to be buried in the deepest oblivion, they would be irresistibly forced upon our recollection by Mr. Davis's reflections on a part of the monody, devoted to the memory of Chatterton by Mr. Coleridge. It may be proper to produce the lines of the poet, (which likewise remind us of the *Lycidas*,) to enable our readers with the more accuracy to appreciate the merits of the critic.

“ O Chatterton ! that thou wert yet alive !
 Sure thou would'st spread the canvass to the gale,
 And love, with us, the tinkling team to drive
 O'er peaceful Freedom's undivided dale ;
 And we at sober eve, would round thee throng,
 Hanging enraptur'd on thy stately song !
 And greet with smiles the young-ey'd Poesy
 All deftly mask'd, as hoar Antiquity !”

On this effusion of the Muse, Mr. Davis observes,

“ All this is mere sound, signifying nothing. We well know that
 “ neither Chatterton nor Mr. Coleridge would have spread the can-
 “ vass to the gale, nor turned waggoners in America, and driven
 “ the tinkling team. Neither is it very likely that Mr. Coleridge,
 “ and Mr. Southey, and Mr. Lovel, would have assembled at eve
 “ round Chatterton, and hung enraptured on his song. They would,
 “ more probably, have damned his song with faint praise, or heard
 “ it with sad civility.”

If it were our purpose to bring Mr. Davis's authorship to a strict critical trial, we might amuse ourselves and our readers with a variety of citations from his work : but having dragged him into light for objects professedly our own, it would be ungenerous and perhaps unfair to sport unnecessarily with his feelings, in whatever licence he may have indulged himself with respect to the sensibilities of others. His page indeed is the most desperate, in the damnation which it deals around, of any with which we are acquainted ; and, as a writer, he may be said to wield not the sword of execution, but the besom itself of destruction. The numbers of our unhappy species, who are involved in the fatal sweep of Mr. Davis's indigna' on, are nearly equal to those, which have ever fallen beneath the sanguinary rage of a Tartar conqueror ; and to enumerate the victims of our author may terrify our readers, while it makes the very pen to quiver in our own strong gripe. Poor Catcott and Barret ; Dean Milles and Jacob Bryant ; the Edinburgh Reviewers and the whole mass of the Bristol population ; the late Lord Orford with Drs. Gregory and Knox, Messrs. Coleridge and Hayley ; and (shame on the hand of massacre which can-

not be arrested by pity for the tenderness of sex!) Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Cowley, and Miss Williams, are all included, though for various denominations and degrees of guilt, in the damnatory sentences of the unrelenting Mr. Davis. From this fierce writer, who is not inclined to discriminate nicely between friends and foes, even Mr. Southey, one of the most zealous assertors of the genius of Chatterton, and Mr. Warton, its most renowned champion, cannot escape without the experience of a wound; and Gray and Mason, we scarcely know why or how, are dragged into a participation of the widely extended vengeance. For the hapless beings, who have thus suffered by a weapon of the same species as that with which the strong Danite smote his uncircumcised enemies, we can only express our unavailing regret, and, trembling with fearful prescience of our own fate, we must resign them without an effort in their favour to the severity of theirs. We will only sigh over each of them, *Sit tibi terra levis!* or, to express our benevolent sentiment in our own language, may that which has been pronounced by the Wiseman to be “heavier than a stone or sand,”* lie lightly, as lightly as it can, on thy mortal remains!—Not to plunge ourselves deeper in the abyss of Mr. Davis’s resentment, we will now dismiss him, as a writer, from our notice, and reserve him, only as he is a narrator of facts, for the future subject of our occasional reference.

The incidents of the short life of Chatterton, though not wholly of a common nature, have excited attention principally with that adventitious consequence which they have derived from men, who, persuading themselves that he was a wonder, have been resolute to see what was visible only to their own eyes, and to trace even in darkness the luminous principles of the meteor of their fancy from its first concoction, till it condensed into full light and blazed upon the world.

* Proverbs xxvii. 3.

The posthumous son of a sexton and petty schoolmaster in Bristol, Thomas Chatterton was born in this city, on the 20th of November, 1752. Having effectually resisted the assiduous attempts of his mother to acquaint him with the alphabet, he was placed, when he was five years old, at the little school of which his father had been the master, to obtain instruction from hands more conversant with the arts of imparting it. But here the fond hopes of his mother were again disappointed; for, after an adequate trial, he was returned to her by his master as an incorrigible blockhead. The good woman was now in despair: but a fortunate occurrence interposed very seasonably for her relief. The boy's attention having been struck with some ornamented letters in the title-page of a music-book, the circumstance was skilfully and successfully improved by his vigilant instructress. In the first progress of knowledge he was now led without interruption from *A*, to *Z*: and his biographers are careful to inform us that the book, in which he was taught to combine these subjects of his literary triumph, was a bible in the old English or black-letter character. When the difficulty of reading was overcome, he was admitted, at the age of eight years, into Colston's charity-school, and committed to the direction of a Mr. Haynes. Here young Chatterton continued till he had passed his fourteenth year, intractable and gloomy, actuated only by the common desire of domineering over his play-mates, and without discovering to the dull eyes of his master, accustomed as they were to the observation of youthful intellect, even the rudiments or germ of any extraordinary talents. The usher of this school, a Mr. Philips, indulging his fondness for poetry and writing verses, encouraged in the maturer boys, who were under his care, a taste similar to his own; and impelled them with his example and suggestions to an emulous contest for the favour of the Muse. But although Mr. Philips's wish to disseminate his own taste among the scholars was not without effect, and he was gratified by seeing a large crop of young versifiers springing up beneath his

cultivation to be the future ornaments of newspapers and magazines, yet could he not produce any symptom of poetic vegetation in Chatterton, or number him with the Parnassian flowers of his field. Though now twelve years old, Chatterton remained apparently dead to the vivifying touch of example, and, standing quite aloof from the rhyming competition of his associates, he took no part in their exertions and participated with them in no common feeling, neither rejoicing with the victor nor sympathising with the vanquished. In secrecy and silence however he was induced, it seems, to make a trial of his powers; and about this time he composed a small copy of verses, of the satiric cast, in which his admirers can discover the trace of premature genius, but which to our less discriminating sight presents nothing more than what might be expected from a boy of common talents, familiarized to metre by the writings and recitations of his comrades. At this period he began to disclose a taste for reading, which he gratified, as well as he could, by hiring books, principally on the subjects of history and divinity, with the little money with which the poverty of his mother could supply him. But he seemed still to persevere in his moroseness to the Muse: and from the circumstance of his not blending in any degree with the circumfluent poetry of his schoolfellows and master, one* of his friends, a young man also of talents, has very naturally inferred that Chatterton was then destitute either of the inclination or the abilities requisite for the exercises of verse. In despite however of this inauspicious augury, and of studies which appear to be as ill adapted to the taste as they are ill calculated to cherish the imagination of a poet, we are assured by his biographers, whose steps we carefully follow, that he was now discovering the ardour and the versatility of his genius; that he paraphrased one chapter of Job, and more than one of Isaiah; and that he wrote a satire on his upper master, whose name we

* Mr. Thistlethwaite.

here find to be Warner, though Mr. Davis had before led us to believe that it was * Haynes.

In his fifteenth year, young Chatterton was removed from the charity school, and stationed, as an articled clerk, in the office of a Mr. Lambert, an attorney in Bristol; and it was in this situation, if we could rely on Mr. Davis's confident assertion, that our intellectual phænomenon produced those great births of mind, which have since imparted immortality to his memory. But his genius was still dormant, till it was roused, and its energy directed into a splendid path of action by the occurrence of a very remarkable event.

In the muniment room of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, in Bristol, was deposited a very old chest, which had immemorially been called the coffer of Mr. Canynge, an eminent merchant of this ancient city, who, during the reign of the fourth Edward, had either founded or re-built the church. The keys belonging to this chest having been lost, and some deeds, which it was supposed to contain, being wanted, the six locks, which secured it, were forced by an order of the Parochial Vestry in 1727, and the deeds, which were found in it under the examination of an attorney, were removed. Many parchment MSS. however, which were determined to be of no legal utility, were left in their former situation; and were thus submitted, as the fastenings of the chest were not replaced, to the discretion of the subordinate officers of the church. Of the MSS. thus open to pillage, the father of our Chatterton, who was then the sexton and whose ancestors through a long course of years had held the same office in the parish, possessed himself without remorse; and by the depredator and his wife they were applied to all the purposes, to which old parchment is capable of being converted. They covered the books of the Sexton's scholars,

* On referring to Dr. Gregory's Narrative, we find that Warner was the upper, and Haynes, who was friendly to Chatterton, the under master of this charitable institution.

and they inclosed the thread of the females of his family ; and by these means number of them were destroyed. On one of his occasional visits to his home, the attention of young Chatterton was struck with some writing, which he could imperfectly read, on a threadpaper of his mother's, and his excited curiosity impelling him to enquiries, the result of which was satisfactory, he exclaimed that " he had found a treasure, and was so glad that nothing could be like it." His first care, on this discovery, was to secure the MSS. still existing with his mother or in the chest ; and his next, to obtain all the glossaries and the writers of old English which were within his reach, not for the obvious purpose of decyphering the parchments thus thrown accidentally into his hands, but for that, as we are required to believe, of accomplishing a forgery on the suggestion and with the pretence of these MSS. and of thus converting his wonderful abilities to the labour of a lie, and then exhibiting them under a profound disguise to the world.

If we attend to his present biographer, it was not till he had nearly attained his sixteenth year, and consequently not till a considerable period had intervened since the date of this discovery, that Chatterton communicated any specimen of the poetry which he had found, or of the fraud which he had achieved : but there is evidence to prove that antecedently to the circumstance, which we are now about to relate, and immediately after his discovery of the old parchments, he imparted to his friends some of those compositions which he attributed to Thomas Rowley, a secular priest of the fifteenth century ; and which, if they were altogether the creatures of his own fancy, must consequently have been produced by him when he was little more than fourteen. Not to anticipate however any part of the argument, and to proceed without interruption in our narrative, when the new bridge of his native city was opened, and his fifteenth year was on the point of closing in the October of 1788, he strongly excited the public notice by inserting in Farley's Bristol Journal, " A description of the Fryars passing

over the old bridge, taken from an ancient manuscript." This paper, as Mr. Davis most justly remarks, is singularly curious. It is, indeed, so specific, so appropriate and so characteristic that, on the supposition of its being a forgery by the hand of a boy not yet sixteen, it must be regarded as a real wonder: but with reference to other wonders, for which our belief is imperiously demanded by the advocates of this boy's powers and fraud, it is only a mere trifle and of too little consequence to induce us to pause for its examination.

The attention of Bristol was now awakened, and, the paper in question being traced to Chatterton, he was closely interrogated on the subject. In his answers, which were obtained by assiduity and management, he disclosed all the circumstances which we have related respecting the discovery of the MSS. of Rowley; and it must be observed, that to his first story, which in its minutest particulars and in additional detail was subsequently attested by his mother and his sisters, he scrupulously and pertinaciously adhered to the latest moment of his life. His life indeed was short; and yet was it sufficiently long to solicit him with occasion to falter in his falsehood, and to press him with temptation to renounce it; and if he were an impostor, he will occur to us in the history of our race as a solitary instance of the deliberate preference of fraud, when convicted by her votary's experience of an immediate connection with ruin, to truth with the rich rewards of fame and of fortune ostensibly in her hands.

The MSS. of Rowley soon introduced Chatterton to two of the most eminent, if wealth be not the sole criterion of eminence, among the citizens of Bristol,—Mr. Barrett, a surgeon, distinguished by his literary taste and then meditating the history of his city; and Mr. Catcott, a clergyman, celebrated for his antiquarian researches and not without a name in the republic of letters. From the notices of these gentlemen, to whom he gave, or pretended to give some of his MSS. Chatterton derived more than pecuniary benefit; for he was brought by

them into company ; and so elevated was he by the consequent attentions which he experienced, that his hopes of future fortune seem to have been raised far above the just excitement of the occasion. At this period, it must be remarked that the boy, whom we are forbidden to hesitate in acknowledging as the author of the poems which he communicated as Rowley's, was, according to the testimony of Mr. Catcott, ignorant of grammar ; and we know that an anonymous letter, which he sent about this time in a disguised hand to his late schoolmaster, was detected beneath the inadequate concealment with which this asserted forger had been able to cover his writing. His mind now seemed to be wholly occupied with the subject of his MSS. or, as his partisans will have it, with the project of his imposture. He was busy with glossaries and Saxon dictionaries : he teased his family with recitations : he would sometimes exercise his ingenuity in the imitation of old MSS. and, scribbling strange characters on pieces of parchment, he would daub them with ochre, blacken them in a candle, rub them on the ground, and complete the process by rumpling them in his hand ; he was fond of walking in the meadows near Redcliffe church, and there, frequently, throwing himself on the ground, he would seem as in a kind of trance ; and then on a sudden and abruptly would say, "That steeple was burnt down by lightning :—there was the place where they formerly acted plays."

Inflated with the ideas of his own importance, and dissatisfied with the more humble and less profitable patronage of Bristol, he now solicited the observation of the great, and opened a correspondence with the literary and antiquarian Horace Walpole. But the result of this measure not fulfilling his sanguine and childish expectations, his MSS. being suspected and his advances slighted, his spirits became depressed ; and, having already quarrelled with his friends Catcott and Barrett, whom he satirized, he intimated an intention of suicide, and was in consequence turned out of doors by

his master, Lambert. In this emergency, the proud and disappointed boy resolved to seek an asylum in the metropolis, with the assurance of finding in that great mart of talents the opportunity of distinction and of fortune. Here, then, he engaged himself with various publishers; wrote with incessant assiduity, in verse and in prose, for the opposition and for the ministry, and exerted all the powers which he possessed for the great prizes of successful authorship. But the issue was unfavourable:—the public, insensible of his merits, were inexorable to his demands; and the effect of his labours, which were infinitely great and urged to the neglect of the common necessities of nature, far from realizing his dream of ambition, would not supply him even with bread. Without the indulgence of any vicious or expensive habit, he fell into utter want, and, after an ineffectual attempt to obtain from the offended or the conscientious Barrett a recommendation to place him as a surgeon in a slave-ship, he terminated his life by poison*, in the eighteenth year of his age, when he had previously destroyed all his MSS. and left nothing behind him but a few small parchments, evidently sullied with the attempts of forgery.

This is the substance of the life of Thomas Chatterton; and whatever reflexions it may suggest to us and the ordinary sons of men, it supplies the advocates of his genius and imposture with abundant matter of admiration, and every where offers to them what they are determined to find. With a power peculiar to themselves, and an infatuation stronger than the lover's when he softens the defects of his mistress with the shade of a foreign language, calling her, if her complexion be dark and sallow, a *brunette*; if her temper be sharp and saucy, *vif et piquant*, *Nigra*, *μελλιχρως* *immunda et fœtida*, *ἀκοσμος*:

* Arsenic or opium, for his biographers differ on this very immaterial point.

Cæsia, Παλλαδιον nervosa et lignea, Δορυκας The devotees of Chatterton discover importance in his littleness, wrest effects from their most obvious and natural causes, and convert the most trodden dirt into the aliment of their purpose. Is he pronounced by the master, beneath whose eye he has passed almost every hour from his eighth to more than his fourteenth year, to be unpromising and dull? From the very circumstances which induced this blundering pedagogue to form his decision does Mr. Warton declare that *he* should have derived the assurance of the boy's genius and drawn the presage of his future greatness. Is the young wonder dead to that excitement of poetry, which roused his school-fellows to rhyming and stanza-making? This discovers that lofty pride of conscious superiority which could not descend to such puerile competition, and felt more dignity in playing at taw or building mud houses than in constructing the fabric of a verse. When his love of reading, awakened with difficulty, directs itself to history and divinity,—this course of study forms the best preparation for the poet; and when he writes a satire, the trivial production is not only an effusion of high talent, but is an argument also of the versatility of its author's powers, engaged at the same time in the projection of serious, sublime, and pathetic poetry. When the discovery of the MSS. of whatever nature they were, seizes on his whole mind, and when in consequence he ransacks for knowledge all the repositories of the old English dialect, which he could collect; when he talks to his family and his companions on scarcely any other topic than that of the treasure which he had found; when, in a sort of fine phrenzy, he traverses the fields, near that church in which these old writings had been preserved and to which some of their narration refers—all this is the direct evidence of a mind intensely bent upon imposture, delighted with the suggested opportunity of fraud and eager to possess itself of the means of successful execution. His ignorance of grammar at the time when he produced the compositions imputed to Rowley,

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and his inability to disguise his own hand when he had accomplished the most dextrous and artificial forgeries, are circumstances, which unfortunately did not occur to his admirers, or no doubt they would have twisted and fashioned these odd-looking facts into strong supports of their cause—and his want of knowledge and of skill in these instances would unquestionably have been the effects of consummate art, exerted to deepen the darkness in which it was his ambition to bury his genius and his designs. Even to his character and his person do the perversions of his—friends shall we call them or his enemies?—extend. He was remarkable, as his family and his youthful companions assert, for his steady adherence to truth; and his master-passion, as the concurrence of all testimony will not suffer us to doubt, was the love of literary distinction: but the partisans of his genius maintain that he passed his life in the fabrication of a lie; and that he threw from his own brows the brightest crown planted on them by the Muse, and consigned it to hover over the head of a phantom. His eyes were grey: but although grey was the colour of the eyes of Pallas, it is not altogether satisfactory to the worshippers of Chatterton, and they are forced to make the best of it they can. “His eyes (says Mr. Davis) were grey, but fire rolled at the bottom of them as it does in black eyes.” We know not to whom this nonsense is imputable—to Mr. Barrett its asserted author, or to Mr. Davis its reporter—but nonsense, beyond all question, it is; for, not to observe that we cannot discover what is meant by *fire rolling at the bottom of eyes*, black eyes have no peculiar privilege to glow. The eye is kindled solely by the mind; and an ardent intellect will rush in lustre and in fire from the iris of any eye, be the tint of it black, brown, grey, or blue. But this is to stop to pick up the stalk of a rotten pippin, when our course is to be long, and our object is of consequence.

Above the weakness of credulity or even of doubt on the subject which is before us, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Southey, (we

should not on any other occasion couple these unequal men in the same sentence, and we must therefore request Mr. Southey to pardon us,) and Mr. Southey's co-adjutor in the editing of the works of Chatterton, regard every opinion, which stands in opposition to theirs, on the question of the Rowley poems, with no inconsiderable degree of contempt; and the poor wight, who is so unfortunate as still to believe in the authenticity of these productions, can hope for no milder sentence than that of being thrown among those, who are proof against conviction either from that extreme softness of the faculties which deadens the stroke, or that extreme hardness, which is insusceptible of its impression. The former of these writers speaks with as much certainty as to the act, and with as much precision as to the time of Chatterton's composing these poems, as if he had been present when they sprang and glittered in bright panoply from the head of the young bard; and the two latter betray much virtuous indignation at the waste and abuse of those talents, which have been employed to suspend the decision in favour of their fellow-citizen, the youthful native of Bristol; and boldly claim for his brows the laurel so long and so strangely withheld from them. As our conviction is unhappily at direct variance with that which is felt by these gentlemen, and we must at all hazards avow what we conceive to be the truth, we find ourselves in a situation of danger, exposed as we are to a succession of champions gradually diminishing in prowess from Gray, Mason, Horace Walpole, Tyrwhitt, Southey, T. Warton, through a long file of inferior men to the present biographer Mr. Davis. But we must support ourselves as well as we can; and engaging in the cause of truth, we must say, with the bard of Twickenham—

For thee fair Virtue, welcome all the past,
For thee fair Virtue—welcome e'en the *last*.

We are aware that difficulties, and important ones, embarrass either side of the question; but we think that those which

oppose the claims of Rowley are surmountable, and may without any great labour be removed; while those which obstruct the pretensions of Chatterton cannot be overcome without struggling with contradictions, and repelling all the results of our experience of man. At the risk, therefore, of incurring the scorn or the pity of our opponents, we must profess ourselves in the face of day to be persuaded that the MSS. attributed to Rowley were actually and substantially the works of some ancient writer, and were indebted to Chatterton for nothing more than their re-production into light and their occasional interpolation. It will now, therefore, be our business to vindicate ourselves, if we can, from that suspicion of obstinacy, of dulness or of insanity, to which such a presumptuous and unqualified profession will necessarily expose us.

As we have already related the discovery of these controverted MSS. with sufficient particularity and minuteness of detail, it will be requisite for us at present only to say that, on their first communication they were received with that full confidence in their authenticity, to which all the circumstances of the transaction seemed to entitle them. They were brought forward by a boy, who had not yet entered on his sixteenth year; who gave a consistent account of their discovery; who submitted some of the MSS. to the inspection of intelligent curiosity; and whose story, as far as it respected the finding of the parchments themselves, was confirmed by his family, and, as far as it agreed with his former relations of the same facts, by his school-fellows and confidential friends. On an examination of the poems, they were found to be stamped with the strong impression of truth. In some places their facts were attested by the evidence of history, not generally accessible or very little known; and every where the names and the manners which they exhibited were precisely those of the age to which they were assigned. The boy, who possessed the MSS. was known to be intelligent and able: but with some peculiarities of temper, he was pronounced by those who were

acquainted with him, to be pure from any gross immorality, to be withheld by pride, if not by a feeling of moral obligation, from the mean vice of lying ; and to be too sensible of the value of literary renown to release it from his grasp and to give it, wantonly as it were and without any adequate motive, to an imaginary being of a preceding century. With this view of the case, we cannot wonder that the poems in question were received without a doubt of their authenticity, and as the ornaments of an age when our poetry was as yet in its cradle and had not attained to the laboured artifice of harmonious articulation. On being exposed, however, to the investigation of those, who were deep in antiquarian research, the legitimacy of these works was found to be liable to suspicion. The name of Rowley, their assigned father, was no where, as it was said, to be discovered. In every character of composition, these poems were determined to be of a distinct and superior genus to that of the productions of our earlier poets. The metre of the pretended Rowley, the numerousness and flow of his verse, with the general propriety of his sentiments and rhyme, were pronounced to be modern, while his language was with equal confidence asserted to be too ancient for the date assigned to his existence, and to be borrowed, without sufficient knowledge and discrimination, from the repositories of our forefathers' fluctuating and progressive speech. In these pieces also were detected some anachronisms, and some imitations, though not many, of our modern poets, which were too palpable to be denied. When the authenticity of these poems was thus drawn into suspicion, several circumstances respecting them, of a nature to inspire doubt, were recollected and adduced. To the most pressing solicitations Chatterton had never given more than four of the pretended originals, containing in the whole only about one hundred and thirty verses. On one occasion, in consequence of being strongly pressed, he had acknowledged himself to be the author of one of these poems ; and he had made a similar avowal on the subject of

another of them to his mother and his sister. He was known, likewise to have studied with particular assiduity all the glossaries which he could procure of our ancient language; he had been observed to attempt the imitation of our old MSS. and had shown himself to be acquainted with the art of communicating to parchment and to ink the venerable complexion of age. These, as far as we can recollect, are the principal of those arguments which were urged by the Anti-Rowleians with so much vigour and success as to put their adversaries to flight, and to pursue them with the shout of the public from the field. To the force of the victors on this occasion, one of the editors of the works of Chatterton, published in 1803, has added the circumstance of a genealogy, manifestly fabricated by this singular boy; and the result of an examination of the Rowleian MSS. preserved in the British Museum, which is felt by this writer as so completely decisive of the question as to excite him to immoderate triumph. Far, however, from being convinced by this or by any of the other arguments produced by the advocates of the same cause, we are firmly persuaded of the antiquity of the poems ascribed to Rowley, and must regard them as strong in all the evidence of truth.

We will first pay attention to what has been alleged against their authenticity, and we will then proceed to state what in our opinion incontestibly confirms it.

If the name of Rowley were no where discoverable in the imperfect records of an age, dark sanguinary and turbulent beyond perhaps the most calamitous in our history, the circumstance would by no means surprize us. He was neither a statesman, a warrior, nor the founder of a church. He was, in short, the recluse of a cloister, or a secular priest; and when he was indulging his poetic genius, he was not only acting "without a second and without a judge;" but was also exercising, as it were, a sort of forbidden art, the effects of which he might prudently confine to the approbation of a few

friends, and of his patron, Canynge. This argument, therefore, would appear to us to be destitute of weight even if it were rested upon a fact. Unfortunately however for those who have produced it, the name of THOMAS ROWLEY is to be found, where Chatterton probably would never look for it,—in the Episcopal Register of Wells; in which diocese Rowley was admitted into orders at the time when the author of these poems is supposed to have existed. From the long concealment of these effusions of our early Muse no inference can be urged against their genuineness; as concealment for a much longer term has been the fate of many of the productions of human genius. That these MSS. should be able to resist the alleged damp of the place in which they were said to have been kept, is proved to be possible by the survival of those deeds which were unquestionably found in the same chest and in the same place; and it certainly is not improbable that Canynge, to whom these poems were sent by his confessor, should confide them, either from his admiration or his ignorance of their merits, with many of his legal instruments, to the dark but safe sanctuary of his coffer.

To argue against the authenticity of these pieces from their superior excellence in any of the characters of composition, is in fact to assume that for granted which yet remains to be proved. A similar instance of exemption from unnatural conceits, of artificial metre and harmonious verse is not to be found in the works of our other old poets: but who will assume to say that its existence in those of Rowley was impossible? and nothing less than its *impossibility* can give it weight on this occasion as an argument. If Rowley were to be established by other proofs (and it is surely a possible case) as the author of these poems, the argument against him from the superiority of his composition would immediately and universally be acknowledged as futile: for it would form a strange syllogism were we to say, “these productions are known to be genuine; but their excellence is beyond the example of

their age, and therefore they must necessarily be spurious." If the weakness of the argument be not in the present state of things so easily discoverable, it still equally exists; and would as soon with a new direction overturn the authenticity of Homer or of Roger Bacon, as that of the confessor of Canynge. If Rowley, in short, composed in a regular stanza formed of ten lines, it will demonstrate nothing more than the fallacy of their hypothesis who assert, that with us the structure of the stanza was progressive from the simple quatrain to its final enlargement and complication in the seventeenth century. Rowley had the model before him of the ottava rima of the Italians; and on this he might improve, or from this he might vary according to the direction of his taste and his ear. If he wrote an irregular, or what has subsequently been called a Pindaric ode, the wonder is still less, and the difficulty will admit of a much easier solution. The regularity and the irregularity of the metre of this unfortunate old poet have been adduced with equal confidence for the purpose of disproving his existence: but with Mr. Warton the latter is the more inexpiable offence, and what exposes the criminal to the most inevitable condemnation. In Mr. Warton's apprehension, an English *Pindaric* ode, as he will call it, could not have been produced before the days of Cowley, who first brought into vogue this fantastic composition which he had invented. Mr. Warton indeed, who is generally unfortunate when he ventures from facts into criticism, supposes that the Pindaric ode of Cowley derived its character as well as its name from Pindar; and then considering it as improbable that a priest of the fifteenth century should have been acquainted with this Grecian poet, "who was one of the last classics that emerged on the revival of literature," he treats with ridicule the notion of Rowley's writing on an irregular plan of composition, the original model of which he had never seen. But we can scarcely regard this egregious effort of criticism with sufficient gravity to make it the subject of any serious attention. Regularity of metre is the effect of

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cultivation, the last soft and mellow tint as it were of ripened taste ; while irregularity in this respect is like the first crude produce of the wild tree, thrown out by the vigour of nature, when unreclaimed by art and unimproved by manure. Mr. Warton must have known that all our very old poetry (if Rowley's be not admitted into the question) is to a certain degree irregular ; and Mr. W. ought to have known, if at least he were the scholar that his friends assert him to have been, that Pindar is not irregular, and cannot justly be proposed as a model of irregular and lawless composition. If we cannot precisely ascertain the principle on which this great poet combined his variety of verse, his trochaics and dactyls his iambics and antispastics, we are certain that, at stated periods in his productions there is a recurrence of the same harmony ; and that nothing in fact can be less *Pindaric*, in the Cowleian sense of that word adopted by Mr. Warton, than the lyric compositions of the illustrious bard of Thebes.

But, induced by Mr. Warton, we have rested too long in this stage of our progress. Rowley has written in irregular and in regular measure ; and from the defect or the excellence we are equally unable to derive an argument of any consequence against his authenticity. Let us now then examine the other evidences of forgery said to be discoverable in his page.

Of these, the alleged ANACHRONISMS are the chief, and shall be the first in the order of our notice.

In a song in the tragedy of *Ælla*, a lady is represented

“ As her whytte honds whytte hosen was knyttynge ; ”

and they who controvert the authenticity of these poems positively affirm, that the art of knitting stockings was not introduced into England in the time of Edward IV. We—(the writer of this article is alone meant, for it would be unfair to include his brother-reviewers in the same confession of ignorance,) we are not sufficiently deep in learning of this nature to affect to ascertain the precise moment in which the art in

question was first practised by an English hand. We know indeed that in most cases nothing can with more difficulty be attained than accurate knowledge upon such a subject; and in the present instance we may consider the assertion of our opponents as doubtful, and consequently as disputable. We shall not, however, contest it: neither will we suggest, with an intention to borrow force from the suggestion, that Rowley, from the connexion which at that time subsisted between the members of the Papal hierarchy through every part of Europe, might be acquainted with an invention as yet unknown to the multitude of his countrymen. We will affirm, however, that the song, in which the supposed anachronism is found, differs materially from the other songs in *Ælla*; where it stands as an absolute superfluity, distinguished by its peculiar metre and inferior poetry, and evidently marked, as we think, with the characters of an interpolation.

The other charges of anachronism are scarcely worthy of attention. In these poems Bristol is honoured with the title before it was raised, by the establishment of its cathedral and its bishop, to the rank of a city. As, without the whole of the published controversy before us, we speak in this instance at random, we will only suggest a hope that Mr. Warton was not the author of this objection; for *he* must not only have known but have felt that all peculiar and technical language is excluded from the vocabulary of the poet; and that Rowley would naturally call his own large and populous town a city, without applying to the code of civil or ecclesiastical polity for expression legally accurate on the subject.

Under the head of anachronisms have been placed some words of modern birth, which have been detected in these compositions beneath the grim incumbrance of our ancient orthography. Admitting the fact and ascribing it to the pen of Chatterton, we will ask any candid man whether our concession must be followed by any extension of inference? Many words in the MSS. would be illegible; many (as we know to

have been the case) would be misunderstood; and some, perhaps, would not please: while many, therefore, were changed from necessity or ignorance, and some from choice, the MSS. would discover in numerous instances the vocabulary of the transcriber. From the injudicious selection, indeed, of these substitutes a very powerful argument might be adduced in favour of the general antiquity of the poems, the consistency of which was so egregiously violated by the intrusion of these alien expressions.

Of the imitations of our more modern poets which have been pointed out in the pages of Rowley, some may be regarded as the mere fancies of men determined to discover imitation, and some may be fairly considered as accidental coincidency. Those traces of imitation, which are the most unquestionable, are to be found in the first poem on the battle of Hastings, a composition avowedly by the pen of Chatterton himself: but some perhaps, of a nature not to be disputed, may occur in other parts of the volume. With respect to these we can only say, that we have never doubted of Chatterton's ability and inclination to interpolate and forge. His wish to improve on the original would induce him in many instances, no doubt, to try his skill on the old MSS. and when he had imparted to the antique Rowley some of the ornaments of modern poetry, he had probably in his own opinion achieved a very laudable enterprise.

When our antiquarian critics pretend to assert that the language of Rowley is too ancient for the time in which he is placed and from this circumstance deduce an argument against his existence, do they not assume beyond what they ought, and is not their inference fallacious? If in truth they are able to ascertain with precision the dialect of our forefathers, in its point of momentary rest in the reign of Edward IV. can they assert that a poet might not occasionally invest himself in the language of a preceding century, and thus arrogate for his works the veneration which belongs to age? Spenser and

Milton have, in different degrees, employed the same artifice to acquire dignity from the rust of time; and why should a sense of its value be denied to the taste of Rowley?

We have now attended to the whole, as far as we can recollect, of the internal evidence which has been advanced against the authenticity of the poems now submitted to our remark. The external evidence, not already noticed by us on this side of the cause, will require very little of our attention.

When Chatterton was pressed to communicate his MSS., his idea of their value, and his persuasion that they were to be the means of his fortune, induced him not only to retain them, but to impart to them what fictitious importance he was able by veiling them in mystery. Some lighter boys might have been ostentatious of their discovery; but his views of the subject were deeper, and his conduct on the occasion was consequently different. The prudence of his Bristol patrons not offering to him the golden prize which he expected, he made an attempt on the wealth and the antiquarian fancies of the late Lord Orford. When this hope, and his last resource in an appeal to the public taste also failed him, the consequence was the natural result of his impetuous and undisciplined character. His pride, disappointment, and exasperation produced the fatal destruction of his MSS. and himself.

His avowal of himself to Mr. Barrett, as the writer of one of the poems on the battle of Hastings, very strongly in our opinion confirms the authenticity of the other, which Chatterton persisted in affirming to be genuine. Let both the pieces be compared by any intelligent reader, and he will immediately pronounce that they are not the productions of the same hand: he will also, as we assure ourselves, determine that the poem ascribed to Rowley is not only greatly superior to its competitor in poetry, and in the delineation of character, of which Chatterton's is wholly destitute; but is also distinguished by a particular air of antiquity and truth. Chatterton's acknowledgment to his relations, that he had written another of

the pieces, which in the first instance he had attributed to the antient poet, is of consequence only as it gives weight to his uniform testimony, in the same confidential intercourse, respecting those which he disclaimed for his own. The short poem of which, in this instance, he confessed himself to be the author, is that "Onn oure Ladies Chyrche;" a composition of very inferior merit; which was manifestly a trial of his skill at imitation, and which, with his assiduous study of our old language and his attempts to copy the writing and colour of the parchments in his possession, proves nothing more than the controll of one predominating object over the mind of an ardent and ingenious boy. In the compilation or the invention of the pedigree, composed by Chatterton to flatter the vanity of his friend Burgum, the Bristol pewterer, though it has unaccountably been produced as possessing weight, nay, even determining weight in the scale of the present question we cannot distinguish the shadow of an argument for the forgery of Rowley. From this strange genealogical document on the contrary, formed, as it incongruously is, of truth and falsehood so inartificially combined as to be every where open to detection; and exhibiting in its texture nothing more than the production of an illiterate though active mind, addicted to the study of heraldry and turned, by the discovery of the old MSS. to what its author calls "antique lore," we should be inclined to draw a conclusion very different from that which has been drawn from it, and to lead it from the cause, into which it has been violently pressed, to that of the opposite party, to which it more naturally belongs. In the framer of the pedigree we can perceive at least no common features of mind, no equality or resemblance of knowledge or of talent, which can bring him within the line of affinity to Rowley, or elevate him to the point of competition with the author of the old poems: in any event, the cases must be pronounced to be so little parallel as to be incapable of being adjusted for any of the purposes of mutual support. The general diction of the

pedigree is illiterate; and the different languages, which are introduced into it, prove only the antiquity of some of its materials, and the ignorance with which they have been transcribed. Neither is the authenticity of the "Romaunte of the Cnichte," in any degree brought into doubt by its insertion in this whimsical performance of the pedigree: for the poem has derived nothing from this connexion but the name of a fictitious author, invented by Chatterton to adapt it to the niche in which, for obvious purposes, he thought proper to station it. Here let us remark, though it may be a little out of the right place, that the poems among those of Rowley, which have been ascribed by Chatterton to various authors, are all very short, many of them mere fragments, and some of them confessedly translations from older writers by Rowley himself; that the power, discovered in these several pieces, is by no means equal, and that the character of their composition is occasionally different. But is it, after all, improbable, that amid the difficulties of almost illegible MSS. the transcriber should sometimes mistake detached and proper names, to the discovery of which he could not be led, as in the poetry, by the sense of the context? or is it unlikely, that with the design of imparting more consequence to his MSS. he should be induced to ascribe some of their contents to a diversity of authors? From any imagined uniformity of style, therefore, of these subordinate pieces with those which are avowedly from the pen of Rowley, no inference can be formed against the authenticity of the whole; and to assert, that if Chatterton be acknowledged as capable of writing one of these minor compositions, he must consequently be allowed to be equal to the production of the others, is only to affirm that, because a man has been known to write "Alli Croker," or "God save the King," he must therefore be competent to the writing of "Othello," or "The Tempest." The *animus fraudandi* might, perhaps, be proved by the forgery of such a trifle as the Minstrel's Song, imputed to Sir Thybbot Gorges; but the *mens divini*, requisite for

the fabrication of *Ælla* would still equally remain a subject of doubt and disquisition. To return however to the pedigree of De Burgham, let us add, that, while we can find in this production nothing similar or akin to the poems of Rowley for its construction, which was an easy task, we are struck with an obvious motive in the wish of Chatterton to please a man whom it was his interest to please; but that the forgery of Rowley was prohibited by almost every motive which could influence the conduct of a reasonable being. To forge these poems with a determination of concealing the fact, was to submit to toil for the sake of toil: it was a waste, or, at the most, a very cheap sale of golden talents; and, above all, it was a relinquishment of poetic renown, the price of which, in Chatterton's estimation, was far above rubies. The cases, in truth, of the De Burgham pedigree and of Rowley's poems cannot in any way be made to coalesce so as to suggest the idea of a common origin and author.

The examination of Chatterton's MSS. in the British Museum, as it is reported in the edition of his works by Mr. Southey, appears to be inconsistent in its detail and inconsequential in its general result. The writing on most of these parchments is said to be nearly, and on some of them to be totally illegible: but illegible as it is, and in despite of its minuteness or entanglement, it evidently discovers, as we are assured, the traces of Chatterton's hand!—These parchments are all pronounced to be new: and yet if they are the same which Chatterton affirmed to contain the poetry of Rowley, their antiquity is too strongly established by evidence to be made the subject of doubt: for it cannot be questioned, as we conclude, that the parchments which this boy pretended at least to copy, had been carried from the room in Redcliffe church and were actually in various use in the house of his mother. The parchments in the Museum are declared to be artificially coloured; and evidence is adduced to prove that Chatterton was expert in the art of staining parchment in

imitation of the brown tint of years. Unluckily however, the parchments in the Museum are found to be discoloured by a process different from that which the witness in question has asserted to be Chatterton's; and the difficulty is solved by the supposition, that this ingenious and resolute impostor had improved in his art before the exertion of it on the subjects of this examination. The greater number of these parchments are occupied with drawings and sketches by a pen, and many, if not all of them, have been subjected, as we doubt not, to the experiments of Chatterton. But the whole of them appear to us to be of so little importance to the general argument, that if they were altogether to be convicted of forgery, our persuasion of the existence, at one period, of some old MSS. from which Chatterton copied the mass of that poetry which he attributed to Rowley, would remain unshaken and entire.

Some of the arguments which we have already suggested it will now be necessary for us to recollect and enforce. The existence of some ancient MSS. in the muniment-room of Redcliffe church, with their subsequent removal to the house of Chatterton's father, has been incontrovertibly established. The asseverations of Chatterton, that these old writings were the original of those poems which he transcribed, were, to strangers to his acquaintance to his friends to his family, constant and uniform, and strong in the consistency of truth: even in the hour (as he intended it to be) of his death, when he wrote what he called his will at Lambert's, they never faltered; and if they were false, we must suppose that his pride (if we are not to say his principle) could submit to a lie at a moment when it could not profit him, and when its sole effect would be to rob his name of posthumous reputation. To his own assertions on the subject, we must add the testimony of his associates and friends; of whom, some have seen him in the act of copying these MSS.; some have heard him, soon after his discovery of the old parchments, repeat the titles of all the several poems, which were subsequently and successively given to the public;

some have listened to him while he was reading these productions and have witnessed, in his most confidential communications, his conviction of their authenticity and his admiration of their excellence. By the united voice of all who were acquainted with him, vanity and a rage for literary fame are pronounced to have been the ruling passions of his breast. He wrote much and strenuously : and the verse as it dropped from his pen was shewn to all whom he knew. In the latter part of his short course, he composed for subsistence as well as for fame, and it is natural to imagine, that with so momentous a stake on the die he would strain his abilities to the utmost, and enlarge himself, if it were possible, to the magnitude of the occasion. Let us then contemplate the effects of this earnest struggle for all that is the most stimulating to the exertion of man, and then let us compare them with what our opponents suppose to be the wanton and gratuitous efforts of his earlier years, when there was scarcely any inducement to impel and when there was much difficulty to impede : let us, I say, compare the poems which pass under the respective names of Rowley and of Chatterton, and then let us decide whether *those* admirable and manly productions could be the compositions of a boy, who at a later period, with maturer talents, more experience, the advantage of a more exercised pen, and under the pressure of incomparably more cogent motives, could write nothing better or of a higher character than *these*. Let us reflect, that the poetry imputed to the old bard is not only superior in quality to that which is avowedly the property of Chatterton, but is likewise distinct from it in kind ; and that while Rowley's is altogether of the moral the pathetic and the sublime species, of Chatterton's, the serious pieces are few and trifling, the light and satiric more numerous and of more relative merit. If beneath the impression of these circumstances, we can for a moment believe that Chatterton was really the author of all this dissimilar and unequal poetry, still let us be mindful that there is yet a strong reserve of difficulties to

exercise and harass our credulity. That Chatterton composed the Rowley Poems during his residence at the charity-school, is not pretended by the most resolute advocates of his fraud : for by laying the scene of this remarkable action in the school, they are sensible that they would lose more advantage for their cause than they could gain, and would at the same time reject the strongest presumption which can result from a striking concurrence of authenticated facts. While he resided at this school, the reading of Chatterton was almost confined to history and divinity : he was not heard to speak of any old poetry which he had discovered, or to utter the names of Rowley or Canynge, of Ælla, or the heroes of Hastings : by the decision of all those, to whose observation he was exposed, he was pronounced to be rather averse from poetry than fond of it ; and the sole verse-composition, which he is even suspected to have written, is a short satire, not above the capacity of five-hundred thousand boys of the same age, in our land, to produce. It is not therefore, as we say, pretended that he wrote the subjects of our present disquisition in the dull leisure of Colston's school ; and we must consequently refer the production of these pieces to the next stage on which he appeared in the office of the attorney, Lambert. To this he was removed when he was precisely fourteen years and seven months old ; and instantly on this removal, for before it the strict confinement of his school would not admit of his visiting his family, his discovery of the old MSS. is stated by his mother and his sister to have taken place. Between the time of this event and that of his acquaintance with Mr. Cateott, to whom he imparted some of his MSS. and recited the titles of all the poems which have since been published under the name of Rowley, not fifteen entire months were interposed ; and in this short period, on the supposition that he was the author of the compositions in question, must this wonderful boy, engaged also with the heavy occupation of transcribing law-precedents at his master's desk, have achieved, together with the acquisition of the requisite

knowledge and the various mechanical means, this laborious, this complicated, this certainly miraculous forgery. When we speak, however, of this interval of fifteen months, as the space within which all this mighty work must have been accomplished, we refer to the time at which it is undoubted that all the Rowley Poems were in his possession : but it rests upon incontestible evidence, that he mentioned and exhibited some of them immediately on the discovery of the MSS. and when, if they were indeed his own compositions, they must have been instantaneously produced, in one fit as it were of convulsive inspiration ; not rising as the palace of Lucifer like an exhalation, but bursting, with still more than demoniacal power, in one mass of illumination, like a vast body of pure flame from the mouth of a volcano.—Let the reader then deliberately reflect on all the circumstances and the bearings of the case : let him calculate the weight of what the assertors of the forgery, are desirous of imposing on his understanding, and then let him bear it if he can : for our parts, we feel no hesitation to avow that the load is much too heavy for the weakness of our minds, and that we must consequently reject it.—An argument against the authenticity of these poems as the works of Rowley, a man and a scholar, has been borrowed from their perfections : but will not this argument, as some of those who agree with us in our conviction have already urged, disprove them, with an hundred-fold more force, to be the compositions of Chatterton, an unlearned if not an ignorant boy ? The alternative presented to us is striking, but not of a kind to suspend our determination. If we receive these poems as the productions of Rowley, we have only discovered the greatest of our old poets, who with superior ability and taste anticipated in a great degree the correct sentiment and the polished composition of a later age : but if we assign them to Chatterton, we admit an intellectual prodigy ; before whom, the most elevated of the sons of genius must be condemned to stoop : we raise nature above the level on which we have hitherto observed her to

work, and represent her as enduing one human mind with powers, of which our experience of the powers of other human minds will scarcely allow us to form a conception. To relieve us, however, from this overwhelming idea of PRODIGY, nothing more is, fortunately, necessary than a candid and thorough investigation of the case. The poems of Rowley carry in their bosoms the record of their legitimacy. In all their parts, in their uniform character and in their distinct and specific narrative, they present to our idea the perfect integrity of truth. Wherever they are interpolated, the extraneous substance will not blend with their's, and occasions disorder which is immediately discoverable. With the covering of the same title-page, they may be thrown into one mass with the productions of Chatterton; but their dissimilar nature will not admit of their being confounded: and, however the experimentalist may endeavour to mix them, the more ethereal spirit of Rowley's will still rise and sparkle on the surface. In the graduation of human compositions, the poems of Rowley will be found to touch the point of genius, while those of Chatterton cannot be discovered to ascend above that of ordinary talent. In the former, in short, the critic will acknowledge the exhibition of a great poet; in the latter, nothing more than the display of an enterprising and ingenious boy.

THE REMAINS OF HESIOD THE ASCRÆAN, TRANSLATED FROM
THE GREEK INTO ENGLISH VERSE, WITH A DISSERTATION
AND NOTES BY CHARLES ABRAHAM ELTON. *London.*
Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme. 1809. 8vo. pp. 396.

THE only translation of Hesiod we possessed before this work, was a very indifferent one by Cooke, and an obsolete one of the Works and Days only, by Chapman, who also translated

Homer ; neither has Cooke translated the whole of the Remains of Hesiod, he having omitted the Shield of Hercules. Therefore, in fact, this is the first complete English translation of Hesiod that has yet appeared.

As candid and impartial a criticism on this work, as the ability of the Reviewer enables him to give, will be given in the course of the observations on the translation. After what has been said of Cooke's translation, it is but a poor degree of praise to say that this of Mr. Elton's is greatly its superior in every respect. He seems perfectly acquainted with the precise meaning of the original, and has laid that meaning, with great perspicuity, before the English reader. I fear, however, Mr. Elton must not flatter himself with the idea that his work will ever become popular ; the subjects of Hesiod's works are not likely to attract the notice of any but the learned ; and by such, translations from the classics will only be inspected from curiosity, or as a kind of continued commentary on the original.

Mr. Elton has translated the Works and Days in rhymed, and the Theogonia and the Shield of Hercules in unrhymed verse. His reasons shall be given in his own words :

“ I must decline (he says) a discussion on the merits of blank verse, and on its fitness to represent the ancient rhythm. A great part of the Theogony and the whole of the Shield are of an epic cast, and I am justified by classical analogy in regarding the metre of Milton as a legitimate model of epic verse. The freedom of blank measure appears indeed essential to the Theogonia. It were doubtless practicable by the aid of epithets, periphrasis and apostrophe, to torture into rhyme that endless catalogue of enumerated divinities ; but the violation of the original severe simplicity would scarcely be compensated by any accession of poetical pleasure from a metrical jargon so little resembling the smooth and equable versification of Hesiod. Where precepts are to be impressed, and sententious maxims rounded and condensed, the couplet may, I think, be employed with advantage ; and I consider it as therefore well adapted to the general preceptive character of the Works and Days.”

What merit Mr. Elton possesses as a writer of rhymed or

unrhymed verse will be considered in the observations on the body of the work. His preference of unrhymed verse for the translation of the Theogony seems perfectly just, but not exactly so, for all the reasons he gives. The torturing into rhyme the names of the deities would indeed be a very difficult task to execute, and would not be very pleasing to read when executed; but if it were necessary to lay a work before the mere English reader, that must be so perfectly uninteresting to him as the Theogony, for the same reason that Mr. Elton in this part of his observation gives for his preference of blank verse to rhyme, prose seems preferable to either. Who can discover even the *disjecti membra poetæ* in such lines as these?

‘ Clio, Thalia, and Melpomene,
 ‘ Urania, Erato, Terpsichore,
 ‘ Polymnia, and Euterpe, and the last
 ‘ Calliope.’———

The *and* in the first line, notwithstanding there are nine *ands* in the original, is perfectly expletive, because it is entirely out of its place, as are the words *the last* in the third line; as much so as these additions with which Cooke has filled up his verses, with this difference only, that Mr. Elton’s are merely expletive, while those of Cooke’s explain the names of the Muses, and their different offices, answering in some degree the purpose of notes.

Though Mr. Elton declines a discussion on the merits of blank verse, and on its fitness to represent the ancient rhythm, yet as without such discussion he boldly asserts that “the metre of Milton is a legitimate model of epic verse,” and that rhymed verse is “a metrical jargon, little resembling the smooth and equable versification of Hesiod,” he must pardon the reviewer for entering shortly into that discussion, notwithstanding the appeal to the authority of Lord Monboddo and Lord Kaimes.

How far Mr. Elton is “justified by classical analogy in re-

garding the metre of Milton as a legitimate model of epic verse," would occupy too many pages of this Review to examine critically; but, till we see another narrative poem in blank-verse of acknowledged excellence, we may be allowed to hesitate a little before a definitive opinion is given on the subject; and it may be a doubt with many, how a poem whose action passes

"Beyond the flaming bounds of time and space," can be properly classed with those works, which chiefly represent the actions and passions of mankind. *The Paradise Lost* may be styled by its enthusiastic admirers a poem superior to an epopee; but, that it is an epopee, is not quite so clear. Of the unfitness of blank-verse to exhibit either Homer or Virgil in an English dress we have unfortunately proofs before us. Mr. Cowper has produced an original work where he has used blank-verse on every kind of subject, including many for which it seems least fitted, with unquestionable excellence. Milton's verse in many parts of the *Paradise Lost*, sinks into mere prose, but no such parts occur in *The Task*; yet, notwithstanding all the attempts to raise the merit of Cowper's Homer, and depreciate that of Pope, Pope's translation will be found on every table, and in every hand, while Cowper's will stand unmolested on the shelf of the library by the side of Trapp's Virgil.

With regard to the fitness of blank-verse to represent the ancient rhythm, something also may be said, if by ancient rhythm Mr. Elton means the rhythm of hexameter verse; our blank-verse seems to be congenial with the character given by Aristotle of the ancient iambic, "which (he says) is most calculated for discourses, as we frequently use iambic verse in common conversation, but hexameter very seldom, and only when we get above the usual style of dialogue." On this account, the iambic verse and English blank-verse are obviously the proper measure for the drama.

One of the defects in blank-verse, when applied to epic

poetry, is the want of distinction of the boundary of the line, and the facility with which one line may run into another, by which means, the divisions of the verses become sometimes arbitrary; for instance, these lines of Milton---

—————"What place can be for us
Within heaven's bound, unless heaven's Lord supreme
We over-power? Suppose he should relent
And publish grace to all, on promise made
Of new subjection." *Paradise Lost*, Book II. v. 855.

This would equally be verse thus written:

What place can be for us within heaven's bound
Unless Heaven's Lord supreme we overpower?
Suppose he should relent and publish grace
To all on promise made of new subjection.

It is not impossible, that this, in the opinion of some persons, may be a beauty, but be that as it may, it is totally different from the character of the ancient hexameter, and perfectly uncongenial with the smooth and equable versification of Hesiod, and, we may add, of Homer. In Virgil pauses often occur in the middle of verses, and none at the end, and this for several verses together; but in Hesiod and Homer we rarely find two lines together without a slight pause at the end, giving a general cadence more resembling Pope's rhymed couplet than the blank-verse of Milton, though in Virgil and all the Latin poets equally with Homer, Hesiod and the Greek poets, the distinction of the verses is clearly and unavoidably marked by the voice, independently of the construction of the words, which is not the case with our blank-verse, for the cesure and concluding adonic mark the boundary of each separate hexameter verse with more precision, even than the concluding rhyme marks it.

Mr. Elton's zealous attachment to the learned reveries of Mr. Bryant seems also to have led him into an undertaking,

which, to say the least of it, is perfectly unconnected with the task he is employed on, and has induced him to convert what should have been explanatory notes on the generally received classical mythology, into a studied defence of that gentleman's hypothesis. Of "the keen research and vast erudition of the author of the *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*," there can be no doubt; but whatever "conviction Mr. Elton may feel in his own mind" on the subject; many indeed of the minds, especially of those who have read Mr. Richardson's masterly refutation of Mr. Bryant's system, will not feel such conviction. Vast erudition and keen research will not always lead to truth in the minds of those who are fondly attached to a favourite hypothesis.

A gentleman, who was very partial to Mr. Bryant, once made the hyperbolical assertion, in a mixed company, that "he was master of all the learning in the world, and *more* too;" this unfortunate *more* has been the *ignis fatuus* that has led his imagination to support his paradoxical hypotheses; such as, that the ship Argo was Noah's ark, and almost every ancient deity Noah; and this chiefly supported by names, in which some resemblance to *ark* can be traced. The supporting a system of the remotest antiquity on the comparatively modern Latin word *arca*, and its English derivative *ark*, is little less absurd than Swift's ludicrous derivation of 'Alexander the Great,' from 'all eggs under the grate.' The Trojan war standing a little in the way of his hypothesis, he resolved to remove that obstacle, and the 'Tale of Troy divine' was sacrificed to it. What but the love of paradox could have induced Mr. Bryant to take the part he did in the controversy about the supposed poems of Rowley? Surely, it only wanted the exertion of the most common observation to see the impossibility of some, at least, of those poems being written before our versification had received its final polish.

The remarks in the following extract from the preliminary

dissertation on the writings, life and æra of Hesiod are strikingly just :

“ The morality of Hesiod is not always unexceptionable, although it has been attempted to refine away every thing of an objectionable tendency * ; and we are presented with a counterfeited for an original ; with Christian graces for heathen virtues ; we meet with principles of a narrow selfishness, and also of revenge ; Hesiod is exonerated from blame, but he should not be set up as a model of ethical perfection. Ingenuity has also been exerted to wrest a certain allegorical meaning from the petty superstitions, which the poet has laid down with abundant gravity, but we must take them as they are—as mere superstitions.”

Not all the recorded miracles, by which the truth of the Christian religion was first established, are equal to that before our eyes every day ; the exalted purity of its doctrines, against which the most hardened infidel cannot shut his eyes, and which, while they make the most distinguished moralists of antiquity shrink to nothing in the competition, were disseminated by persons entirely destitute of education ; and any attempt to discover any thing like this perfect system of ethicks in the systems of the heathen philosophers, and still more in the mythology of the poets, must only lead to error ; and yet this is the common fault of most translators and commentators, but which Mr. Elton has happily avoided. Of this, the translation of the passage in the second Satire of Juvenal which begins, “ *Esse aliquos manes,*” &c. by Dryden, Gifford, and Hodgeson, the reviewer must persist in thinking a striking example, notwithstanding the candid and modest defence of Mr. Gifford, and the strong assertions of Mr. Hodgeson. What Mr. Elton has observed on the desire to extract an allegorical meaning from the superstitions of antiquity, is equally just ; the excess to which this is carried by many of the annotators on Homer is perfectly ridiculous.

* See Cooke's translation and notes, *passim*.

To come to the work itself, it is evident that the execution of it is highly respectable, and the sense of the original is given with as much precision as it was possible to give that of a poem of such high antiquity, and which treats of things and manners so widely different from any with which we are familiar; avoiding too close an adherence to the exact words of Hesiod on one hand, and too wide a deviation from them on the other; and the versification, both rhymed and unrhymed, is in general correct and harmonious. It may seem fastidious to notice an early defect, but, as it happens, that the first lines of every poem make the most striking impression, and are those which are most commonly retained by the memory, the style of the exordium should be particularly attended to.

The opening of the *Theogony* which precedes the *Works and Days*, is thus rendered in this translation :

“ Begin we from the Muses, O my song !
“ Whose mansion is the mountain vast and *holy*
“ Of Helicon.”

Here the conclusion of the second line seems exceptionable ; the use of the redundant syllable is the chief distinction between dramatic and heroic blank verse, and is very rarely used by Milton.

Mr. Elton has succeeded very happily in rendering those strange precepts, beginning each with *Μῦθε* in the original, at the conclusion of the second book of the *Works and Days*, so as not to shock the English reader either with absurdity or indecency ; but which are brought prominently forth to view by Cooke, both in his version and his notes.

On comparing the following passage of this part of the poem, as translated by Cooke and Mr. Elton, the former will seem to have the advantage, if the original is not referred to :—

‘ The bowl, from which you the libation pour
‘ To Heaven, profane not in the social hour.’ *Cooke.*

“ Ne’er let thy hand above the chalice rest
 “ The ewer of wine.”

Elton.

Here, would the original warrant it (which it may seem to do to superficial readers), the idea of prohibiting the sacred chalice devoted to religious libations from being profaned by being used at banquet, is much better than classing the placing the ewer above the chalice, “ with such vulgar omens as laying the knives a-cross, and overturning the salt-cellar.” These are the words of Hesiod :

Μηδὲ ποτ’ οἰνοχόην κινέμεν κρατῆρος ὑπερθε
 Πινόντων.

The Latin literal translation here, with apparent plausibility, rendered οἰνοχόην by *patinam libatoriam*, but it is never used in any other sense than that of a vessel from which wine is poured into a bowl or cup, neither is the verb οἰνοχεύω, or οἰνοχοέω ever employed in the sense of pouring wine in a libation ; therefore, Mr. Elton seems perfectly right in his idea of the passage.

As a specimen of the comparative merit of the translations, that part of the beginning of the Works and Days shall be cited from each, which contain the celebrated line—

Νήπιοι ἐδ’ ἴσασιν ὅσω πλεὺν ἡμισυ πάντος.

‘ But let with justice your contentions prove,
 ‘ And be your counsels such as come from Jove;
 ‘ Not as of late, when we divided lands,
 ‘ You grasped all, with avaricious hands;
 ‘ When the corrupted bench, for bribes well known,
 ‘ Unjustly granted more than was their own.
 ‘ Fools blind to truth ! nor knows their erring soul,
 ‘ How much the half is better than the whole.
 ‘ How great the pleasure wholesome herbs afford,
 ‘ How blest the frugal and an honest board.’ *Cooke.*

———“ Let justice guide,
 “ Best boon of Heaven, and future strife decide ;
 “ Not so we shar’d the patrimonial land,
 “ When greedy pillage fill’d thy grasping hand ;
 “ The bribe-devouring judges, sooth’d by thee,
 “ The sentence will’d, and stamp’d the false decree.

“ ‘O fools, and blind ! to whose misguided soul,
“ ‘Unknown how far the half exceeds the whole :’
“ ‘Unknown the good that healthful mallows yield,
“ ‘And asphodel, the dainties of the field.’” *Elton.*

There is no occasion here to point out to the English reader the superior elegance of Mr. Elton's style, or to the learned reader his greater fidelity to the original ; the latter, however, seems carried rather too far in the last couplet, and the general words of Cooke are preferable to the specific mention of two plants which we can hardly consider as esculent, especially as Mr. Elton allows in his note, that “ these plants were used by metonymy for temperance and frugality.” The celebrated line, which both the translators have rendered by a couplet, might easily have been represented by one English verse, and Mr. Elton has been led by Cooke to add the epithet *blind*. He observes justly, that the sentiment does not refer to the judges, but I think not so justly, that it refers to Hesiod, since it seems manifestly levelled at the avaricious disposition of his brother Peries ; but the note of admiration appropriates it to the judges ; it would have been better, and nearer the original, simply thus :

“ Fools never know how half exceeds the whole.”

The notes in general are well executed, but the eternal reference to the system of Mr. Bryant, is a great drawback from their merit : how could the author blend in the same body of notes the remarks of a person, who looks on the whole story of the Trojan war as a mere fiction, with those of the learned and accurate historian of Greece, who has no doubt of its being founded on real events, though embellished by the fancy of the first of poets ?

In a note on a line of the *Theogony*, where there is a dispute among the critics, whether Hesiod has mentioned the four cardinal winds or only three, Mr. Elton decides in favour of the former opinion, “ because it is not (he says) credible that “ Hesiod was acquainted with only three cardinal winds, when

“Homer distinctly mentions four ;” but the omission of one wind would be no proof of Hesiod’s ignorance of its existence : a similar omission occurs in the Psalms, where we read, “Promotion cometh neither from the East, nor the West, nor yet from the South.”

The note on these lines is evidently a species of that figure, which in modern speech is called a *trueism* :

“The race

“Of woman, soft reflects the father’s face.”

“The ancients thought the resemblance of the child to the husband a test of its legitimacy ;” surely there was no need of going to the ancients for an idea which is so obvious, and is so strongly marked now by the compliment always paid to a father on first seeing his child.

In a note on these lines, nearly at the beginning of *The Shield of Hercules*—

“And from the darkening lashes of her eyes

“She breath’d enamouring fragrance,”

Mr. Elton says, “This beautiful image of breathing sweetness from the eyelashes, may at first appear to be a forced conceit ;” and, surely, it is so. Mr. Elton tries to defend it from the following passage in Virgil :

“Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem

“Spiravere.”

But surely there does not seem any great analogy between the odour of tresses bedewed with ambrosia, and that which might be *breathed* from eyelashes. This is the original—

Τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ κρηθὲν βλεφάρων τ’ ἀπὸ κυανείων

Τοῖον ἄνθ’ οἶόν τ’ πολυχρύτῃ Αφροδίτης.

Her flowing *hair*, and sable eyelids breath’d

The heavenly fragrance of the Queen of Love.

The word κρηθὲν seems to have escaped the notice of Mr.

Elton. It is very probable that Virgil borrowed his idea from Hesiod ; but in such supposed imitations there is no certainty ; there is a passage in the *Winter's Tale*, still nearer to Hesiod : but Shakspeare will never be suspected of borrowing from the poet of Ascræa—

‘ Violets dim,
But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes,
Or Cytherea's breath.’

For just explanation of difficult passages in the original, Mr. Elton is evidently superior to every other commentator on Hesiod ; and where he differs from Cooke, he is, with very few exceptions indeed, evidently in the right ; and the work must be considered as a valuable acquisition to the literary world. It gives a very faithful picture of Hesiod to those who cannot consult the original, and will afford much useful information to those who can.

At the conclusion are some extracts from the obsolete version of Chapman.

FOX'S HISTORY OF JAMES THE SECOND. [*Concluded.*]

I NOW pass on to the second chapter of the late Mr. Fox's historical tract, as published by Lord Holland. It embraces a very short period ; but, coming from so distinguished a person, it excites interest, though for the same reason it disappoints expectation.

Upon the demise of Charles the Second on the sixth day of February 1685 the Duke of York, whom Parliament had attempted to exclude from the succession, was with all customary formalities proclaimed king, by the title of James the Second.

Our author's observations upon the state of the public mind

on the accession of this Monarch, who may be said to have mounted the throne on the ruins of the constitution, are exactly such as would naturally occur to every reasoning man. The nation could not but expect, that James, when king, would pursue those measures, employ those ministers, and adhere to those principles, which he was known to have recommended, countenanced, and avowed through all the latter years of his brother's reign. The foreknown character of the Prince *left* (as Mr. Fox observes) *little room for that spirit of speculation, which generally attends a demise of the Crown.* Yet with regard to the conduct he would pursue in matters of less importance, he conjectures, that *there was probably much curiosity, as upon such occasions there always is*—and to this conjecture, that, what always does happen, probably did happen, the author had a right to expect universal assent.

If we were to adopt Mr. Hume's delineation of James's character, when he succeeded to the throne, we should give him credit for some qualities, which every page of his history would compel us to retract. That historian tells us, that he was *severe but open in his enmities, steady in his counsels, diligent in his schemes, brave in his enterprises, faithful, sincere and honourable in his dealings with all men.* This is a magnificent character by Mr. Hume's free bounty bestowed upon his hero James the Second, and fits him about as well as Saul's armour fitted the stripling son of Jesse. If he really possessed all these noble qualities as Duke of York, how came he so soon to forfeit them as King of England? When he fled from his capital by night, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, and thereby took a measure the most ruinous to his cause, and the most grateful to his enemies, was he then *steady in his counsels, and diligent in his schemes?* When, upon a message from the Prince of Orange to leave his palace, he obeyed, and begged permission to retire to Rochester, could it then be said of him, that he was *brave in enterprise?* When he violated the promises he repeatedly made of preserving the liberty and religion

of the nation so flagrantly, that Hume himself confesses his whole reign to have been one continued invasion of both, could such a gross delinquent merit to be called *sincere and faithful*? Was it *honourable* to receive a secret pension from a rival sovereign, the natural enemy of his country? When he pretended to have detached himself from Mrs. Sedley, and to give a colour to his pretence, put her out of her apartments in Whitehall, whilst he secretly continued his adulterous commerce with her, (that bane of princes even to the present hour) what could be more dishonourable, than such mean hypocrisy?

It is not the brilliancy of Hume's imposing page, that can so dazzle us—

——“ But that these truths will rise,
Though all his art o'erwhelm them to men's eyes.”

The crimes of princes, their abominations and impurities will be discovered through the fog, which the breath of flatterers for a short time spreads around them; and when their persons are exposed to the contempt they merit, they will find to their cost, that those, who cannot keep any guard over themselves, will not be suffered to hold command and exercise authority over others.

James, who is a striking instance of this general remark, was much neglected in his early years: when he was placed under the care of the Lord Berkeley, what could he imbibe from the precepts or example of his governor, but bold insolent manners, and arbitrary notions, with every disposition, that could favour and promote his mother's wishes, who used more than ordinary arts to draw him over to her own religion? Hume is free enough to admit the bad policy of a partiality for any form or profession of religion, unless for that, which best suits the purposes of temporal power: He can number up many admirable properties, that did not belong to James, to put into the balance against those evil ones, that did belong to him; but for his religious zeal, which the Pope himself thought too im-

moderate, the historian, whose zeal was of a very opposite description, can find no excuse ; and thus, whilst Mr. Fox dates all his miscarriages from his high prerogative principles, Mr. Hume, with equal prejudice, ascribes them to his bigotry and superstition—ready upon all occasions to exclaim—

“*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*”

Burnet says, “he ran into amours and vice, which by degrees wore out any courage that had appeared in his youth.” Hume expressly says, that amongst the virtues, which he brought with him to the throne, courage was one. The former appears to have both fact and reason on his side: the same historian says, “that the proclaiming him king was a heavy solemnity: few tears were shed for the former, nor were any shouts of joy for the present king: a dead silence, but without any disorder or tumult, followed it through the streets.” To the same effect Kennet remarks, “that the signs of popular grief at James’s proclamation exceeded those of joy.” But whatever might have been the behaviour of the people when he was proclaimed, what he said upon entering the privy-council, which at their request he published as his royal declaration, operated highly in his favour: there is no grace of manner in that declaration, but there is good policy and discretion in the matter of it, for which he was probably indebted to his cabinet. The style appears to have been his own. In this declaration he promises to support the Established church, and the church, being in its principles a friend to monarchy, was contented to believe him on his royal word: if some doubted, they were silent; for the spirit of the Whig party was humbled, though not absolutely subdued: a spark still had life; which James, in the triumph of a little temporary popularity, vainly flattered himself had been smothered in the general overthrow of the parliament and constitution, and rashly proceeded to enforce his system of arbitrary power, and make an unreserved display of his religious zeal. Of the

contempt, in which he held the rights of the people, he gave immediate proof by levying the customs and excise without the authority of parliament; whilst, to manifest how totally he disregarded all appearances, he went publicly to mass within two days after his succession to the throne; a step altogether as impolitic, as it was ungenerous to publish to the world, that his brother died a Catholic, and thereby convict him of gross and scandalous hypocrisy.

James dismissed none of the ministers of his predecessor, but promoted the Earl of Rochester to be lord-treasurer, and continued the Earl of Sunderland in his office of secretary of state, who, as Burnet observes, "was supported by the whole court as the proper balance to the violence of Rochester, and was considered by the Queen as wholly dependent upon her and entirely her own." These with the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Godolphin composed what might be called the Cabinet.

His infamous acceptance of five hundred thousand livres from the French king, which Mr. Fox substantiates from the letters of Barillon annexed to his history, seems incontestably brought home to James, and the abject thankfulness, with which he received it, aggravates, if it were possible, the unpardonable meanness of the transaction. If he ever had a spark of that *honour* which Mr. Hume thinks fit to give him credit for, it plainly shows how very small a matter served to quench it, and of course instructs us with what caution and reserve some histories should be read.

As to Barillon's reasoning upon what he chooses to suppose might have passed in James's mind on this occasion, very little authority adheres to such suggestions, though Mr. Fox adverts to them; but it may fairly be presumed that the fact of the payment cannot fail to be authentic, and, as such, fully warrants the deductions, which Mr. Fox draws from it.

Mr. Fox says, "it was determined that Lord Churchill should be sent to Paris to obtain further pecuniary aids."

This was not all the object in Lord Churchill's embassy, and whether it was in fact the real one will bear a doubt. Churchill was sent to the court of France for the ostensible purpose of solemnly announcing the decease of the late, and the accession of the reigning king; and he had special instructions "to observe exactly the ceremony and state with which he was received, that he (the king) might treat him, who should be sent over with the compliment in return to that, in the same manner: and this was observed very punctually, when the Marshal De Lorge came over." These are Burnet's words; and it must be confessed, that instructions of this jealous and punctilious nature seem calculated to counteract, rather than promote, Lord Churchill's objects, if, as Mr. Fox informs us, he had been sent to *Paris to obtain further pecuniary aids*.

Nevertheless, as Barillon, in his dispatch of the 26th of February, 1685, actually apprises the King his master, that Lord Churchill had in charge to make further application for a liberal and speedy aid, it is possible that this degrading instruction might have been secretly entrusted to that very man, whose destiny it was to humble the French monarch by a series of victories, at that time unparalleled in history. If there be reason to suspect that John Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, was in the secret of these pensions, there can be no question as to the Lord Godolphin's share in that infamous negotiation; and of course, though historians do not often stop the course of their narration to indulge in reflections, and speak in their own persons, we may yet allow Mr. Fox to launch into declamation, when such a theme solicits his attention:—

"It is (he observes) with difficulty the reader can persuade himself that the Godolphin and Churchill, here mentioned, are the same persons who were afterwards, one in the cabinet, one in the field, the great conductors of the war of the succession. How little do they appear in one instance, how great in the other! And the investigation of the cause, to which this

“ excessive difference is principally owing, will produce a most
 “ useful lesson. Is the difference to be attributed to any supe-
 “ riority of genius in the prince whom they served in the latter
 “ period of their lives? Queen Anne’s capacity appears to have been
 “ inferior even to her father’s. Did they enjoy in a greater degree
 “ her favour and confidence? The very reverse is the fact. But
 “ in one case they were the tools of a king plotting against his
 “ people; in the other, the ministers of a free government acting
 “ upon enlarged principles, and with energies which no state, that
 “ is not in some degree republican, can supply. How forcibly
 “ must the contemplation of these men, in such opposite situations,
 “ teach persons engaged in political life, that a free and popular
 “ government is desirable not only for the public good, but for
 “ their own greatness and consideration, for every object of
 “ generous ambition.”

When King James, contrary to the counsel of his best advisers, levied the customs and excise, without waiting for the authority of parliament, of which he was secure, it was an unprovoked and wanton violation of the constitution, not more arbitrary in principle, than it was unwise in policy; for, as Rapin justly remarks, it caused his good faith to be doubted, and brought into disrepute that boasted *word of a king*, which the nation had till then been disposed to consider as a sacred pledge, that merited the most implicit trust. When the Lord Guilford, and others of the council, had in vain attempted to dissuade the king from that unprofitable stretch of arbitrary power, it may well be believed, that Jeffreys, knowing his resolution to be fixed, might, according to his base, time-serving character, devise arguments for justifying that encroachment, but the historians of the time furnish us with no reasons for considering him as the mover and projector of that high-handed and imprudent measure.

Though I agree with the historians, that the act of ransacking the deceased king’s strong-box, and employing witnesses and other ungenerous means for proving and publishing that he died a Catholic, was on James’s part a mean unmanly course for gratifying his bigotry and zeal, yet I join opinion with Mr. Fox in admitting, that

“ Perhaps it might be thought good policy, to shew that a

“ prince, who had been so highly complimented, as Charles had
 “ been for the restoration and protection of the church, had in
 “ truth been a Catholic; and thus to inculcate an opinion, that
 “ the church of England might not only be safe, but highly fa-
 “ voured, under the reign of a popish prince.”

The persecution of the Protestant Dissenters, and particularly of Richard Baxter, strongly marks the intolerant spirit of the time. That reverend dissenter, whose works are in our hands, and whose character should have secured him from oppression, was brought before Chief-justice Jeffreys to be tried for certain passages in his writings, defamatory, as it was pretended, of the bishops of the church of England. These passages, mentioned in the information, were his paraphrases on Matth. v. 19; Mark iii. 6; Mark ix. 39; Mark xi. 31; Mark xii. 38, 39, 40; Luke x. 2; John xi. 57; Acts xv. 2. And they were picked out, as Kennet informs us, by Sir Roger Lestrangle, and some of his companions.

“ On Feb. 28th, 1685, Mr. Baxter was committed to the King’s Bench prison by Jeffreys’ warrant. On the 6th of May, which was the first day of the term, he appeared in Westminster-hall, and an information was ordered to be drawn up against him. May the 14th he pleaded *not guilty* to the information, and on May the 18th, being much indisposed, he moved that he might have further time given him for his trial; but it was denied him—Jeffreys crying out in a passion, ‘ I will not give him a minute’s time more to save his life.’ ”
 (*Kennet*, p. 443.)

After grossly brow-beating and insulting Mr. Wallop and Mr. Rotheram, who were of counsel for the prisoner, that assassin, who defiled the seat of justice, broke out into the following brutal and indecent scurrility against the aforesaid prisoner, whilst attempting to speak in his own defence:—
 “ Richard, Richard, dost thou think we’ll hear thee poison the court? Thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart; every one as full of sedition, I might say treason, as an egg is full of meat. Hadst

thou been whipped out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the gospel of peace, and thou hast one foot in the grave; 'tis time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give. But leave thee to thyself, and I see thou'lt go on as thou hast begun; but, by the grace of God, I'll look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of their mighty Don; and a doctor of the party (looking to Dr. Bates) at your elbow; but, by the grace of Almighty God, I'll crush you all."

"Does your lordship think (said Baxter) any jury will pretend to pass a verdict upon me, on such a trial?" "I'll warrant you (replied Jeffreys); don't you trouble yourself about that." The jury immediately found him guilty; and on June the 29th he had judgment given against him, being fined 50 marks, to lie in prison till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for seven years. This is one of the instances of James's persecuting tyranny noticed and justly reprobated by Mr. Fox.

It appears to me, and I believe it has so appeared to a great majority of Mr. Fox's readers, that he studiously represents King James less influenced by a zeal for establishing Popery, than by a passion for arbitrary power, *which*, he observes, *so many other princes have had, have, and always will have in common with him*, assuming for a fact, that he entered upon his government of the realm, with no desire of exacting better terms for his religion, than that of the free use of it, and a liberal spirit of toleration. Taking this for granted, he infers the necessity of keeping a steady and ever-watchful check upon the kingly power. This is good whig-doctrine, but I doubt if his premises are warranted by historical evidence, and suspect that if he had paid the same attention to James's encroachments on the established religion, as he has done to his

arbitrary violations of the constitution, he would not have found grounds for the conclusions he has drawn; an impartial research into the fatal errors of James's reign, must have convinced Mr. Fox, as it has convinced others, that the passion at his heart was to awe the nation into popery, and that it was his bigoted attachment to that darling object, which led him to employ such tools as Jeffreys and others to enforce the terrors of prerogative, to persecute the Dissenters under the cloak of protecting the Established Church, which, when it had served his purpose, and nothing else, as he vainly conceived, stood in the way of general conversion, he openly attempted to overthrow by attacking the universities, imprisoning the bishops, and other acts, that nothing but the phrenzy of enthusiasm could inspire, till in the convulsion, that his rash delirious zeal brought on, he was shaken from his throne and forfeited his crown.

It is not meant to deny that James's principles were arbitrary in the extreme, but a close attention to his history leads me to believe they were secondary, and ministerial, to his religious bigotry.

His public parade of going openly and in state to mass upon the second day after his accession is marked by other historians, though not mentioned by Mr. Fox. His eagerness to ascertain and make public the circumstance of his brother's dying in the Catholic persuasion is rather parried than explained by the interpretation which Mr. Fox puts upon it; for I must contend that there was quite as strong a character of the papist in it as of the politician. When Mr. Fox descants upon the ruling passion of the king, whose character he draws, and decrees it to be pre-eminently that of arbitrary power, his candour could not fail to have weighed those glaring proofs of his attempt to change the religion of his country, which are to be found in the short period of his reign, though they do not exactly fall within the year 1685. He must have considered his embassy to Rome, his negotiations with Pope Innocent,

and his admission of his nuncio, as demonstrations incontrovertible of a head-strong, rash and eager purpose to turn the whole nation to his faith. A very few pages of King James's history beyond that where Mr. Fox breaks off, would have shewn him this enthusiastic bigot tampering with the Earl of Mulgrave, with the Earl of Middleton, and the Duke of Norfolk, with Kirk, and with the Earl of Rochester, to convert them to popery : he certainly had not overlooked his efforts to obtrude his Jesuits upon the University of Cambridge, and his much more violent and successful operations carried on against the rights and statutes of Magdalen College in Oxford, which, jointly with his proceedings against the bishops, whom he sent to the Tower, were circumstances than which none could be more clearly indicative of his popish bigotry, none more immediately conducive to his ruin and expulsion.

The cruelties attendant on the persecution of the conventiclers in Scotland cannot be read without horror, and they seem so much more naturally fitted to the purpose of levelling the determined foes to popery, rather than to the removing obstacles to arbitrary power, that Mr. Fox, as advocate for the latter purpose, is driven to rest his argument upon the circumstance of *Lauderdale and Queensberry's being Protestants*, and concludes, that "there is no reason therefore to impute
" any of James's violence afterwards to the suggestions of his
" Catholic advisers, since he, who had been engaged in the
" series of measures above-related, had surely nothing to learn
" from papists (whether priests, Jesuits, or others) in the
" science of tyranny." But who does not discover that here our author is betrayed into a false conclusion ? For if tyranny be a science, how could James's papists, whether priests, Jesuits, or others, manifest more address and policy in that science, than by sowing divisions amongst their common enemies, and employing them to destroy one another ? Greater refinement in tyranny there could not be, than to set Queensberry and his Episcopalians against the Presbyterians and Con-

venticlers, Scot against Scot, heretic against heretic, and thus, by not appearing as the oppressors, avoid the odium, but avail themselves of the advantages resulting from the oppression. This indeed is a proficiency in the science of tyranny, that, so far from clearing James's Catholic advisers from the imputation of being parties in the measure, savours so strongly of the artifice and policy of the church of Rome, as to countenance conclusions directly opposite to those which Mr. Fox deduces and adopts.

In further confirmation of this opinion that James had the interests of Popery at heart, whilst he employed Queensberry, though a Protestant, as the minister of his oppressions, it is sufficient to remind the reader, that as soon as the Earl of Perth and his brother the Earl of Melford made a sacrifice of their Protestantism, and professed themselves Catholics, James, to gratify them for their conversion, disgraced Queensberry upon the frivolous complaints of Perth, and turned him out of his employments, encouraging *all manner of accusations to be brought against him with intent to effect his ruin.*

The third and last chapter of Mr. Fox's historical tract is entirely occupied with a narrative of the attempts in Scotland by the Earl of Argyle, and in England by the Duke of Monmouth.

Argyle, who appears to have been a man not formed for great occasions, was hurried on by personal considerations to an ill-concerted expedition, and landed in the North of Scotland, ill-provided with either men or means proportioned to an undertaking of such magnitude. He exposed himself to discovery by suffering his secretary Spence and Blackadder to come ashore in the Orkneys, where they were seized, and sent prisoners to Edinburgh. Without any fixed and steady plan of operation, feebly supported even by his vassals, at variance with his followers, perplexed, deserted and betrayed, he was overpowered, made prisoner, and conducted with all possible ignominy to Edinburgh.

It is true, that in his sufferings he maintained a dignified composure, and Mr. Fox, by displaying his character in adversity, has chosen the best light in which it can be viewed. Superior to the insults of his unfeeling persecutors, and to the terrors of the scaffold, his fortitude and self-command seem never for a moment to have deserted him. In these scenes, his manly, temperate and resigned deportment are worthy all the efforts Mr. Fox has made to interest us in his fate, and those efforts have not been unsuccessful; for his style is considerably elevated above its usual level.

Whether Argyle can justly be considered as a martyr to sincere and genuine patriotism will bear a question. He had undoubtedly gone considerable lengths in complying with the arbitrary measures of the crown in the late reign, and had borne arms against the Covenant; in fact he had been so decidedly a friend to Lauderdale and his administration, that even the poor persecuted fanatics, his own countrymen, would not join his standard, but preferred to hide themselves in caves and caverns of the earth, and suffer all distresses, rather than submit themselves to his protection, though in arms against their tyrants and oppressors. By a most unjust sentence he had been condemned to death, and his paternal property confiscated, for taking the test oath with certain reservations, and not according to the form prescribed. This had passed in Charles the Second's time, and it is presumed that his escape had been connived at by the king, in consideration of his former services; but the confiscation was enforced against him; and though he found an asylum in Holland, yet he suffered great privations in his exile; and if (as Mr. Fox suggests) he was suspicious, that *the Prince of Orange, being upon friendly terms with King James, might make his longer stay in Holland impracticable*, an urgency of that nature may in a degree apologize for his precipitation, but it certainly does not come under the description of pure patriotism.

He published two declarations on his landing; one in the

name of all those in arms, the other in his own, and in the latter of these he says,—“ And I do further declare, that obtaining the peaceable and quiet possession of what belonged to my father and myself, before our pretended forfeitures, I shall satisfy all debts due by my father and myself, as any heir or debtor can be obliged.”

This is a matter appertaining only to himself and to his creditors; it brings him naturally to the spot to which his interest directed him to resort, and quickens his departure from the country where it was not for his interest any longer to remain. Monmouth in vain remonstrates against hasty measures: his advice, though seconded by Fletcher of Saltoun, is overruled by Lord Grey and others. Argyle sets out for the north of Scotland; Monmouth follows to the west of England, and both are ruined: Monmouth throws himself at the feet of a relentless monarch, and in vain solicits mercy; Argyle heroically meets his doom, and, reflecting on the supineness of his countrymen, cries out in his prison—*Alas! who is there to be delivered? There may be hidden ones, but there appears no great party in the country, who desire to be relieved.*

Monmouth's military chest consisted of what his jewels had been sold for; Argyle's of what a widow in Amsterdam had lent him: a Taunton mob hailed Monmouth as their king, but Scottish cruelty made Argyle a martyr.

Monmouth's manifesto was “ long and ill-penned; full of much black and dull malice: it was plainly Ferguson's style, which was both tedious and fulsome. It charged the king with the burning of London, the Popish plot, Godfrey's murder, and the Earl of Essex's death, and, to crown all, it was pretended that the late king was poisoned by his order.” (*Burnet, p. 641.*) This seems an aggravation beyond the common powers of frail mankind to pardon; yet it is generally observed, that James should not have seen him, unless he had been resolved to shew him mercy.

That fortitude and magnanimity, which Argyle uniformly

displayed, entirely deserted Monmouth whilst any ray of hope remained, and only came to him, as they have been known to come to the weakest and most timid, when their fate is unavoidable and execution awaits them. He walked to the scaffold with firmness, but firmness did not mark a single step that he took, till he found himself on the very threshold of inevitable death.

May it not be considered as some apology for the king's admitting Monmouth to his presence when he had said in his letter, addressed to James upon his being made prisoner,—“The chief end of this letter being only to beg of you, that I may have that happiness as to speak to your Majesty; for I have that to say to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy reign?” And more especially when in the same he adds—“Could I but say ONE WORD in this letter you would be convinced of it, but it is of that consequence, I dare not do it.”

What this ONE WORD was remains a mystery. Macpherson suggests that it bespeaks a crimination of the Prince of Orange. Mr. Fox by no means countenances this construction, but decidedly infers that *the thing is impossible*. I confess I can discover no good ground for agreeing with Macpherson in his conjecture, but I do not quite conclude the thing to be impossible, merely because the prisoner avers to the King, that *he had assured the Prince and Princess of Orange that he would never stir against him*. I think the most that can be concluded from that averment is, that when Monmouth referred the King to those personages as witnesses, he could hardly mean at the same time to impeach them as accomplices.

As to the idea of alluding to the Earl of Sunderland, I think it improbable, for a reason, which Mr. Fox has overlooked, viz. because Monmouth let out his intention of impeaching that minister in conversation with Mr. Robert Sheldon on his way to London, which it cannot be supposed he would have done, had that been the *one word* reserved for the King's own ear,

which he did not dare to commit to paper and on which he seems to have rested all his hopes.

After debating whether this myterious word could point at any of Monmouth's friends and partisans in England, Mr. Fox gives up the investigation and concludes it to be "one of those obscure points of history, upon which neither the sagacity of historians, nor the many documents since made public, nor the great discoverer time has yet thrown any distinct light ;"—but where is this difficulty, that seems to have puzzled all the sagacity of historians, and eluded all the evidence of documents, when James, both in a letter to the Prince of Orange, and expressly in his memoirs, says *that Monmouth, in his interview, made no discovery of consequence?* The poor man caught at any chance for obtaining an interview ; he thought this might very probably allure his uncle's curiosity, and induce him to grant it ; and, when once admitted and allowed to plead for mercy, nature dictated to him a hope that the brother of Charles would not suffer the repentant son of Charles to plead in vain.

The lure held out in Monmouth's letter succeeded ; curious to hear the one important word, that promised such a wonderful discovery, James admitted his unhappy nephew to an audience. In that audience, after hearing many unavailing words addressed to him for mercy, James being disappointed of that *one word*, which had excited his curiosity, unfeelingly dismissed his suppliant, and signed the warrant that awarded him to be mangled by his executioner, within forty-eight short hours from the time, when he had beheld him kneeling at his feet.

A noble-minded prince would have spared unhappy Monmouth ; but James had not a heart to feel the joy, nor an understanding to discover the good policy, of forgiving injuries and dispensing mercy. Posterity, which now mourns over the fate of Monmouth, would have found pity for James, had he

generously granted that reprieve to his nephew, which he sordidly permitted the Lord Grey to purchase.

James, Duke of Monmouth, was son of King Charles the Second, by Lucy, daughter of Sir Richard Walters of Haverford-west, Pembroke-shire, to whom he was married both at her father's house, and afterwards at Cologne in Germany, where she was acknowledged as Queen, and served upon the kneec.

Here, with the death of Monmouth, Mr. Fox breaks off and this review concludes. The eagerness, with which the world received this fragment, disposes me to regret that the public curiosity was not gratified with a completer work. Had its author carried it through the reign of James and the important period of the Revolution, and had life and leisure happily enabled him to put his last hand to the correction of it, we may well suppose, that even this portion would have met the critic's eye in a more finished form. His style would then perhaps have acquired those properties, which at present it is deficient in. Mr. Fox, as a public speaker of long practice and established fame, had habits to overcome, which in the specimen before us he is only struggling to avoid, but has not absolutely dismissed. The tone, in which he shook the Senate, yet dwells in a degree upon his ear, and time was not allowed him to reduce it to that simple melody, which is suited to the closet.

RICHARD CUMBERLAND.

J. A. EBERHARD'S VERSUCH EINER ALLGEMEINEN DEUTSCHEN SYNONYMIK IN EINEM KRITISCH PHILOSOPHISCHEM WÖRTERBUCH DER SINNV ERWANDTEN WÖRTER DER HOCHDEUTSCHEN MUNDART.—*Sechs Theile. Halle und Leipzig. 1802.---i. e. Dictionary of German Synonymous Words.---6 vol. 8vo. imported by H. Escher, Piccadilly.*

AMONG the various objects, which arrest our attention when we contemplate the progress of society from rudeness to refinement, none opens a more ample field to ingenious enquiry than the gradual approach of language from a scanty stock of discordant sounds, vaguely denoting what passes in the mind, towards a rich collection of harmonious words expressive of distinct ideas. But as a long time must have elapsed before men “fixed the fleeting expressions of speech in permanent palpable symbols,” and another considerable interval must have intervened between picture or hieroglyphic and elementary or alphabetical writing; and as of those two modes of writing, the latter alone could record the improvement of language, the early annals of nations afford us little assistance in the prosecution of the enquiry.

We may nevertheless reasonably conjecture, that all languages have been extremely poor and meagre in their beginnings. The number of words never exceeded the number of ideas, and a small circle of ideas confined the demand for expressions within narrow bounds. New words were invented only in proportion as new objects of thought occurred. But before such a new denomination was known among all the tribes that originally spoke the same language, it often must have happened that, the want of a new term having been equally felt in another district, the same object had already received a different appellation.

Even at a far more advanced period of civilization, when men began to communicate their thoughts by means of written

language, the same circumstance must still have occurred, though probably less frequently. Difference of thoughts, says Johnson, will produce difference of language. He who thinks with more extent than another, will want words of larger meaning. He who thinks with more subtilty, will seek for terms of more nice discrimination. And when once the palm of good writing begins to be eagerly contested, when authors are fired with the ambition of illustrating their conceptions in the most striking manner, figurative expressions are used literally, and terms, with the existence of which in their native tongue the writers are unacquainted, or which they fancy either more expressive or more harmonious, are borrowed from foreign languages and insensibly introduced along with those words of the native idiom, which bear the same signification. It is to these and similar circumstances that languages are chiefly indebted for their synonymous words.

But synonymical expressions do not long denote precisely the same conception. They gradually acquire nice differences and shades of meaning, which, escaping the grossness of vulgar apprehension, are first discriminated by the superior sagacity of the most civilized part of a nation, and afterwards ascertained and confirmed by philosophical critics. This last circumstance is always an infallible criterion that the language has made a considerable progress towards perfection. It was only at the fall of the Republic that Cicero began to elucidate the various meanings of the synonymical expressions of the Romans, and it is not much above half a century that the Abbé Girard rendered the same service to the language of the French.

Mr. J. A. Eberhard, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin, and formerly Professor of Philosophy in the University of Halle, who was already known in the republic of letters by several literary and philosophical works of generally acknowledged merit, has added to his well-earned fame by a most elaborate and ingenious Philosophical and Critical Dictionary of Synonymous Words in the German

Language, to which is prefixed an *Essay on the Theory of Synonymical Elucidations*. This book displays throughout a most penetrating acuteness combined with indefatigable research, an extensive range of reading, and an intimate acquaintance with ancient and modern languages. The style has the merit, so rare in the writings of German philosophers, of being perspicuous and perfectly free from that affectation of new scientific terms, which disfigures and obscures the productions of the disciples of Kant. The elucidations, which are generally accompanied by pertinent examples, are occasionally enlivened by interesting anecdotes, and frequently confirmed by quotations from the best German writers in verse or prose.

Mr. Eberhard calls synonymous words those, which agreeing in one not very remote general sense, differ only in some collateral or accessory meaning that is not easily discovered without accurate discrimination. He blames Mrs. Piozzi for having admitted *hound*, *greyhound*, *harrier*, and *terrier*, among her synonymical elucidations, because the words themselves render the difference of their signification sufficiently sensible. But this is true only in German. The difference which is so clearly announced by *jagdhund*, *hünerhund*, and *dachshund* is not so strikingly obvious in English; and the four English appellations, according to his own definition of synonymous words, agree in one not very remote general sense; they denote that species of the canine race which hunts by scent.

We cannot coincide with Mr. Eberhard in denying the benefit of synonymical elucidation to all words denoting objects, the nicer differences of which are immediately perceived by the eye, as *cup*, *tumbler*, *goblet*. These words agree in one not very remote general sense; they all three denote drinking-vessels. They are besides frequently mentioned in books which are read by foreigners, and which probably will be read by natives when fashion may have introduced different forms of drinking-vessels. They appear, therefore, as much entitled to an accurate discrimination as the *poculum*, *cyathus*,

and *scyphus* of the Romans. For this reason we would exclude only terms denoting productions of nature and art which are neither in common use nor frequently mentioned in books. Indeed Mr. Eberhard himself deviates, in some degree, from his own rule, by stating the different meanings of *brook*, *rivulet*, and *river*; of *bench*, *stool*, and *chair*; of *house*, *palace*, *castle*, &c. We agree, however, with him in the propriety of the absolute exclusion of terms strictly technical or scientific.

Du Marsais, a French grammarian, has said, that if any language contained many words perfectly synonymous, there would be two languages in one. When the exact sign of an idea is found, we do not seek for another. Mr. Eberhard is of the same opinion. He observes, that although a perfect language should not contain words of precisely the same import, yet no language will ever attain this perfection; that, however, which approaches nearest to it must be pronounced the best. Any word expressing precisely the same idea with another, without the least shade of difference in signification, is an idle incumbrance to the memory. It is not so much the repetition of the same sound which disgusts us in the too frequent recurrence of the same word, as it is the repetition of the same idea were it even differently expressed. But in case there be two words of precisely the same meaning, we ought not to be over-hasty in rejecting the least harmonious, or the least regularly formed. A nice shade of difference hitherto unperceived may yet be discovered. One of the two words may be more solemn, the other better adapted to the common uses of life. That, which is disused in conversation, may enrich the language of poetry, which wants terms deriving a certain dignity from not being profaned, as it were, in our daily intercourse. This is an advantage peculiar to the English and Germans. Both nations have a particular poetical language, whilst among their over-fastidious neighbours, to whom every thing old ap-

pears ridiculous merely because it is old, a word once superannuated in conversation is almost irretrievably lost.

We readily admit that synonymical elucidations sharpen the intellect, correct the errors arising from ambiguous and undefined terms, lessen the number of learned controversies, and promote that justness and precision of expression, the first excellence of good writing, without which beauty of style and splendour of diction are altogether thrown away. But we are tempted to add, that the most beneficial tendency of synonymical elucidations is to supersede the necessity of such explanations by appropriating a distinct word to every distinct idea.

In speaking of the assistance to be derived from synonymical elucidations in kindred languages, Mr. Eberhard very properly enforces it as an indispensable duty to ascertain first how far the foreign critic may be trusted as having accurately determined the delicate differences of meaning of synonymous words in his own language; and secondly, whether their significations do fully correspond in each and every particular in the two languages. Many words apparently the same, and evidently originating in the same root, admit a different latitude of meaning in English and German. The English word *bloom*, for instance, in German *blüthe*, refers only to the blossoms or those flowers which precede the fruit; whilst the German *blume* corresponds exactly with the English *flower*.—The English verb *to borrow* is used of every thing we take upon credit, or the use of which we want as a loan, be it of a perishable nature or not; the German *borgen* refers only to perishable things which we want to convert to our own use, which we cannot restore, and of which we can merely return the same quantity.—*To cook*, in English, denotes barely the dressing or preparing of victuals, for the food of man, over or near a fire: but *kochen*, in German, includes also the idea of boiling or heating any liquid until it acquires a bubbling

motion; hence the Germans say *das wasser kocht*, the water cooks or is cooking, instead of the water boils.—The English word *leaf* denotes that green deciduous part of plants extended into length and breadth by means of fibrous ramifications which form a kind of net; it is the German *blatt*, the Latin *folium*, the French *feuille*: but the German word *laub*, which is derived from the same Saxon root as leaf, is a noun-collective comprising all the leaves of a tree, and is never applied either to the leaves of a flower or small plant, or to a single leaf; it is the French *feuillage*, &c.

To render our extracts interesting to the English reader, we shall select articles in which the correspondence of the genius of the two languages is very great, although the words may not always be derived exactly from the same root. We shall also notice a few articles which will enable us to compare the synonymical elucidations of our countrymen with those of the German, whom we are reviewing.

“ *Hagel* (Hail); *Schlossen* (Hailstones).

“ Drops of water frozen to ice, falling from the atmosphere.

“ *Hagel* (hail) is a noun-collective, denoting the whole hail-shower of frozen drops of water. *Schlossen* (hailstones) are the single pieces of hail. Hence *hagel* (hail) has no plural: but *schlossen* (hailstones) is a plural. It also follows from this distinction, that it is particularly to the larger pieces of hail falling from the atmosphere that the appellation of *schlossen* (hailstones) belongs.

“ The advantage of having a distinct word for *hailstones* has enabled Luther to translate a beautiful passage of the Psalms with the utmost accuracy: *Er schlug ihre weinstöcke mit hagel und ihre maulbeerbäume mit schlossen*. Psalm lxxviii. 47. i. e. He beat their vines with hail and their mulberry-trees with hailstones. The stronger mulberry-trees were destroyed by larger hailstones than the weaker vines. This distinction is not marked by either the English or the French translation of the Bible. The former, instead of *schlossen* (hailstones) has *with frost*: *He destroyed their vines with hail and their sycamor-trees with frost*. The French translation has *par l'orage*: *Il avoit détruit leurs vignes par la grêle et leurs sycomores par l'orage*. Calvin in his Latin version has more accurately rendered this passage by: *Et occidit grandine vitem ipsorum et sycomoros lapide grandinis*.

Addison, in the first of his essays on the Pleasures of the Imagination, in the sixth volume of the Spectator, No. 411, observes, that there are few words in the English language, which are employed in a more loose and uncircumscribed sense than those of the *fancy* and the *imagination*. Yet he has not succeeded in fixing or discriminating their meaning. He uses them as perfectly synonymous, and describes the pleasures of the imagination as "arising from visible objects, either when we have them actually in our view, or when we call up their ideas into our minds by paintings, statues, &c." But surely a pleasure which arises from visible objects must be a pleasure of the senses. This suggestion, however, takes nothing from the merit of the papers themselves. As essays on the more refined pleasures of the senses, and (as far as poetical fiction is concerned) on the pleasures of the mind, they are extremely valuable, and fully entitled to the celebrity which they have obtained. Indeed all the inaccuracies of style which Dr. Blair has noticed in the introductory paper, appear to have proceeded solely from the want of precision, and from the confusion of Addison's thoughts on the subject of fancy and imagination.

Of the two corresponding German terms—

"*Phantasie* (Fancy); *Einbildungskraft* (Imagination)."

Mr. Eberhard states, that—

"They agree in denoting the power of having clear ideas of absent objects of the senses. They differ in this: *imagination* is the mere power of having clear ideas of absent corporeal objects, whilst *fancy* is more particularly the faculty of forming new combinations from the stock of representations of absent corporeal objects, which is in the mind. When these combinations are regular, and formed under the guidance of reason and judgment, they are the creations of a poetical fancy; when they are irregular, and under no guidance or controul, they are the offspring of a more or less disordered fancy, as in a state of bodily disease, in dreams, in the agitation of a violent passion, whilst our spirits are depressed or raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm. But when the mind considers the creations of fancy as so many realities, and this illusion continues uninterrupted and unimpaired, the disordered fancy degenerates into madness, &c.

Dr. Hill, in his Latin Synonymes, says, that the words *eloquens* and *disertus* agree in denoting the power of uttering animated conceptions by means of speech ; but differ in respect to the degree in which that power is possessed. The first term, from *eloqui*, implies the perfection of that art by which human thought is communicated. It supposes that the idea is accurately formed, and that the expression is so precise as to state it exactly as it is. *Disertus* denotes a degree of ability in the use of speech, superior to what is generally met with, but inferior to that suggested by *eloquens*.

The German language has the advantage of possessing two exactly corresponding terms, which Mr. Eberhard discriminates in a manner similar to that of Dr. Hill, and not inferior in accuracy of expression.

“ *Wohlredenheit* (the Art of Speaking well) ; *Beredtsamkeit*
“(Eloquence).”

“ Both words denote the art of pleasing by the perfection of a
“ speech, or the art of the orator. But every one is immediately
“ sensible of a difference in the meaning of the two terms, although
“ he should not be able to state that difference distinctly. A higher
“ degree of perfection is attached to eloquence than to the art of
“ speaking well, and it is supposed to require more genius. The
“ Romans have accurately discriminated between the *hominem elo-*
“ *quentem* (*den beredten*) and the *disertum* (*den wohlredenden*).

“ The eloquent man rises above him who merely speaks well, by
“ the grandeur of his images and thoughts, the strength of his
“ expressions, the impetuous vivacity of his sentiments, and the
“ animation with which they are uttered ; he moves the hearts and
“ commands the admiration of his hearers. The man who speaks
“ well, pleases by luminous thoughts, agreeable images, harmony
“ of style, symmetry of arrangement, appropriate and elegant ex-
“ pressions, and melodious words.

“ The beautiful parallel which Longinus, in his Treatise on the
“ Sublime, sect. xii. has drawn of Demosthenes and Cicero, places
“ the difference between eloquence and the art of speaking well
“ in the clearest light. Demosthenes is always eloquent ; Cicero
“ always speaks well, but is eloquent only at times ;” &c.

Dr. J. Aikin, in the Athenæum for 1807, Vol. II. page 231,
doubts whether Blair, after having stated that *pride* makes us

esteem ourselves, is right in saying that *vanity* makes us desire the esteem of others. *Pride*, in his opinion, means *swollenness*, moral tumidity. He who makes himself bigger than is usual or natural to him, who is great in his own conceit, displays pride. Pride is, in fact, the expression of self-esteem. But, says Dr. Aikin, what has *vanity* to do with the esteem of others? Vanity means emptiness, or, being used only in a metaphorical, abstract, or moral sense, may be defined empty-mindedness. Are the emptiest minds most covetous of the esteem of others? Surely not. They are often covetous of noisy indiscriminate present applause, and snatch at glory without appreciating the nature of the effort: but this is an accident not the essence of empty-mindedness. Milton, he thinks, has misused the word when he says:

“Sin with vanity had fill’d the works of men.”

The manner in which Mr. Eberhard has discriminated the two corresponding German words, leans more in favour of Dr. Blair, and may tend to justify Milton’s expression.—

“*Eitel* (Vain); *Stolz* (Proud). ”

“Vain and proud agree in this, that the proud and the vain man have both too great an opinion of their accomplishments and advantages. They both wish others may have as favourable an opinion of them as they entertain themselves; and both require a proportionate tribute of respect, admiration, and praise. It is the injustice of their pretensions which constitutes their difference from the ambitious man. Garve, an eminent German moralist, has said: He was not vain, not proud, and yet ambitious.”

“Vain and proud differ in this, that the proud man rests his opinion of himself on advantages which, considered in themselves, are really advantages, but which he either values too high, or which he does not possess at all, or at least not in so high a degree as he imagines. The vain man, on the contrary, founds his claims to be praised and admired on trifles which, in the eyes of sensible people, are of no value. This is evident from the original signification of the word *eitel*, which is the same with the Latin *vanus*, and all the words derived from *vanus*, in the English, French, and Italian languages. *Eitel* (vain) means empty. Vanity therefore is something so wretched that it can.

“hardly be qualified worse than by its own name, which has,
 “however, the merit of not pretending to more than what it is in
 “reality.

“Learning is undoubtedly an accomplishment of great value,
 “but he who considers it as the greatest or even as the only accom-
 “plishment, is a proud pedant. Elegance in clothes is an advan-
 “tage of less importance; he who values himself on that account, is
 “a vain fool.

“Vanity manifests itself differently from pride. Pride manifests
 “itself by despising others, and is therefore, in its manifestation,
 “allied with haughtiness. Vanity shows itself by making a parade
 “of advantages of no value. It is vanity when a literary man
 “boasts of acquirements, the poverty of which, connected with his
 “readiness to display them, proves their little value.

“As pride manifests itself by the contempt of others, it is hateful;
 “whilst vanity is only ridiculous. It is on this account that a
 “proud man, endowed with the most estimable qualities, excites
 “displeasure. We are as much disgusted with the purse-proud
 “man, with him who is proud of his ancestors, as with the religious
 “pride of the Pharisee, the pride of virtue in the pretended Stoic,
 “and the pride of purity in the moralizing prude.

“Vanity also manifests itself differently from pride with regard
 “to the praise and admiration which they both require. The vain
 “man is satisfied with any praise; he cares not for the quarter
 “whence it comes; the commendations and the admiration of
 “ignorance as well as those of mere politeness and complaisance
 “render him equally happy. His self-love prevents him from sus-
 “pecting that they may be meant ironically, or from perceiving
 “the shrug of the shoulders with which they are accompanied.

“The proud man despises even the praise of his admirers, or
 “receives it with a cold indifference as a tribute due to him. He
 “is (as Dean Swift has said) too proud to be vain.

“When we want to characterize whole nations according to these
 “qualities, we say: the French are more vain than proud; but
 “the English and Spaniards more proud than vain. Such judg-
 “ments, however, are always liable to a great many individual
 “exceptions. The assertion that men are more proud and women
 “more vain, is probably more generally true.

“Proud is sometimes taken in a good sense. There is a noble
 “pride, for it is only the excess in the esteem of ourselves which
 “is blameable: but a noble vanity is impossible. A noble pride
 “is high-minded, tranquil, calm, unshaken. Vanity is uneasy,
 “restless, uncertain, irresolute. One adds to the dignity of man,
 “the other puffs him up.”

Mrs. Piozzi has attempted to discriminate between *now*, *at present*, and *this instant*: but nothing is to be learnt from her elucidation, except that *now* is the quickest expression, and

that *at present* we cannot come to you is a common phrase. The remainder of the article is taken up with the remark that *this instant* applies both to time past and to a future time, and with an *impromptu* upon *now*, which does not in the least contribute to elucidate any shade of difference between *now* and *at present*. And yet at the conclusion of one of her most flip-pant articles the learned lady exultingly exclaims: "We have *now*, I think, pretty well dispatched this synonymy!" We are, indeed, extremely sorry we must be so ungallant as to refuse joining in her exultation, because we firmly believe that our author will generally be acknowledged to have been much more successful in discriminating the delicacies of meaning which distinguish the two corresponding German words.

" *Jetzt* (at Present); *Nun* (Now).

" These two adverbs denote that portion of time during which
" a thing, a property, a situation, or a change is considered as pre-
" sent or happening.

" But *at present* denotes that portion of time as part of time in
" the abstract; *now* denotes it as part of time in the concrete.
" Time in the abstract is considered as a *vacuum*; its parts are
" distinguished merely by the order of their precedency or of their
" succession, whilst the parts of time in the concrete are marked by
" things, events, situations and changes which are really present.
" *Now* denotes, therefore, a situation or a change co-existing with
" another situation or change, and having its foundation in the
" same. This alliance of contemporary situations or events, with
" the circumstances by which they are attended, is sometimes ex-
" pressly announced and sometimes merely understood. When I
" say: *Now I am satisfied*; it means, *under these circumstances*
" *I am satisfied*. *At present I am satisfied* signifies only that
" *at this present moment I am satisfied, without any regard to*
" *the circumstances which cause my satisfaction*.

" As present situations and changes have their source in pre-
" ceding ones, *now* refers also to the immediately preceding and
" still operating circumstances. When therefore *nun* and *jetzt*
" (now and at present) are joined together in German, *nun* (now)
" refers to the circumstances existing at the time, and *jetzt* (at pre-
" sent) refers simply to the time itself.

" The accessory meaning of *now* by which it denotes the present
" time with its co-existing circumstances, attaches likewise to this
" word when it is a conjunction which connects the minor of a syllo-
" gism with its major; for when we attribute a predicate to a subject

“ we combine two co-existing ideas. If after having stated that
 “ *all men are liable to error*, we add now *all philosophers are*
 “ *men*, men and philosophers are at the same time in our thoughts,
 “ since the man is inseparable from the philosopher.”

Mrs. Piozzi has also completely mistaken the shades of meaning which distinguish the words *openness*, *candour*, *ingenuity*, and *sincerity*. As they refer to the expression of our thoughts and sentiments, they are nowise synonymous, nor even, as the learned lady terms it, analogous to *purity of mind*, since the latter expression is merely descriptive of the nature of our ideas and feelings, without any reference to the manner in which they are expressed. We purposely abstain from animadverting on the laxity of morals which her article preaches. Our intention is only to point out the advantage which future English synonymists will derive from consulting Mr. Eberhard's work. The logical correctness which marks his elucidation of the corresponding German synonymes forms, in this instance, so very striking a contrast, that we hope we shall be pardoned if we transcribe first the English article alluded to. Mrs. Piozzi says :—

‘ *Candour, purity of mind, openness, ingenuity, sincerity.*
 ‘ These terms again, though pleasingly analogous, are not
 ‘ allied in an exact synonymy : and we might add with propriety *unreservedness* too, a quality much like the others,
 ‘ but forgotten upon the list. This last is however particularly
 ‘ valuable in youth, and engaging beyond all others to people
 ‘ entrusted with the guidance of young minds ; yet would such
 ‘ conductors do well to remember, that innocence is intended
 ‘ one day to ripen into virtue, and good parts to be matured
 ‘ into wisdom : so that if a young man can keep his *purity of*
 ‘ *mind and candour*, both which imply but whiteness not
 ‘ transparency, till five and twenty years old we will say—it
 ‘ is a great matter in this wicked world, and it is enough ; for
 ‘ who in these days will dare to wish a window before his
 ‘ breast, as that old Roman did who desired every passer-by

‘ might witness his most secret thoughts ? -Such *openness* of
 ‘ temper would ruin all our friendships, since ’twere no pru-
 ‘ dence to confide in him who professes total *unreservedness* ;
 ‘ and although disguise is mean, we must own that *nakedness*
 ‘ is no less indecent : and with perfect *ingenuity* do I confess
 ‘ my persuasion, that those who harangue loudest and longest
 ‘ in praise of *bold sincerity*, desire more frequently to practise
 ‘ than to endure it ; to be upheld in their privileges of pre-
 ‘ scribing to their neighbours, and of dealing out blame with
 ‘ more sincere than tender kindness, rather than feel any wish
 ‘ to be told their own faults, and profit by the information.’

Mr. Eberhard's elucidation of the corresponding German synonymous words runs thus :

“ *Aufrichtig* (Sincere) ; *Offenherzig* (Open-hearted, Candid) ;
 “ *Freymüthig* (Frank) ; *Treuherzig* (Ingenuous) ; *Näiv*
 “ (Naïf) ; *Aufrichtigkeit* (Sincerity) ; *Offenherzigkeit*
 “ (Openness, Candour) ; *Freymüthigkeit* (Frankness) ;
 “ *Treuherzigkeit* (Ingenuity) ; *Näivetät* (Naïveté).

“ All these terms denote good qualities in the expression of our
 “ thoughts and sentiments, whether they be expressed by words or
 “ actions, and whether the actions be accompanied by words or
 “ not. They are also ascribed as predicates to him whose manner
 “ of expressing himself is usually possessed of these qualities.

“ *Offenherzig* (candid, open-hearted) is, according to the deri-
 “ vation of the term, said of him who opens his heart, or makes his
 “ thoughts and sentiments known easily and without hesitation.
 “ *Offenherzigkeit* (candour, openness) is the opposite of *zurück-*
 “ *haltung* (reserve). A person may be incautiously or imprudently
 “ open-hearted by not considering what he says or to whom it is said.
 “ Prudence forbids mentioning to a stranger all we know, or what
 “ we might communicate without danger to a tried friend.

“ But a person may also be open-hearted, because he is not con-
 “ scious of any thing bad, and because he innocently harbours so
 “ favourable an opinion of men in general, that he supposes he may
 “ trust every one. This amiable openness, which has its source in
 “ innocence, and in the confidence we place in others, is *treuher-*
 “ *zigkeit* (ingenuity). The meaning of the German word *treu-*
 “ *herzig* (trusting heart) is evident from its etymology. The
 “ *treuherzige* man has a heart that trusts to itself, and has confi-
 “ dence in others. He says even that which he should conceal,

“ since it discovers his faults, and may turn the laugh against him,
 “ or ruin his projects. *Treuherzigkeit* comes nearer to what the
 “ French call *ingénuité* ; *offenherzigkeit* to what they call *can-*
 “ *deur*. Openness in children becomes ingenuity when they say
 “ what they have an interest to conceal. They ingenuously reveal
 “ their secret ; they innocently avow their feelings, their thoughts,
 “ their knowledge, and their intentions without thinking of the
 “ consequences, or without suspecting that the consequences might
 “ prove injurious. When this is the case with grown-up persons,
 “ it is frequently a proof of deficiency of sense ; at least, it gives a
 “ poor idea of their understanding, and of the delicacy of their
 “ feelings.

“ *Naïv* (naïf) is derived from the Latin *nativus*. It is said of
 “ an expression which proceeds from the heart naturally, without
 “ art or reflection ; it is also said of him who is in the habit of thus
 “ expressing himself. Children express themselves with naïveté,
 “ and are naïf. A naïveté, therefore, is most striking when it be-
 “ trays a high degree of ignorance, a considerable want of thought,
 “ and of reflection. Considered in this light, a naïveté would be
 “ disgraceful. But a naïf expression may be ennobled either by
 “ the sublimity of a thought expressed in the most simple and most
 “ artless manner, by the affecting nature of the sentiment it con-
 “ veys, or by the frankness of the innocent, harmless, and pure
 “ heart from which it is involuntarily emanating. When it betrays
 “ a weakness or small imperfection, which thought and reflection
 “ would have avoided or concealed, it frequently becomes laugh-
 “ able. Such was the naïf answer of a wife, who, when her dying
 “ husband said to her, *After I am gone I would have you to marry*
 “ *our foreman, you will be happy with him,*—replied, *I was just*
 “ *thinking so.*

“ But if the ridicule be lost in the heart-rending nature of the
 “ feeling, or in the nobleness of the sentiment, we may smile at a
 “ naïveté with tears in our eyes. A Roman-Catholic woman
 “ who was praying for the recovery of her dying child at the foot
 “ of a statue of the Virgin at Ingoldstadt, took the infant Christ
 “ from the arms of the statue, placed him in a distant corner, and
 “ shedding a flood of tears, broke out in these words : *Now you*
 “ *will know what a poor mother feels who has her child torn*
 “ *from her !* This naïf expression of motherly grief is too respec-
 “ table, too affecting to excite laughter.”

This observation is confirmed by the action of the Florentine woman, who, flying before a lion escaped from his keepers, dropt her child from her arms. The lion snatching him in his mouth, the disconsolate mother threw herself on her knees before the ferocious animal, and with piercing cries implored him to restore her her infant. This naïf action was truly sublime ; and

what is very extraordinary, the lion left the child on the ground without hurting him, and walked off.

“ However, (continues Mr. Eberhard,) when a naïf expression betrays any meanness, it is at once laughable and contemptible. A critic had praised a work of which the author was not known to him; being told that it was the production of one of his enemies, he exclaimed: *Oh! had I but known it!* This was a naïf expression of his meanness.

“ From all these examples it appears, that a naïf expression emanates from untutored nature and unrestrained sentiment. Reflection would perceive what the expression betrays, and prevent its utterance. He, therefore, who utters his thoughts without reflection, is *naïf*; he who expresses them without distrust, *ingenuous*; and he who utters them unreservedly, is *open-hearted*, or *candid*. Naïveté is contrasted with reflection; ingenuity with distrust; openness and candour with reserve.

“ An expression is *aufrichtig* (sincere) when it agrees with our feelings and sentiments; and he whose manner of expressing himself possesses this quality, is sincere. A sincere confession agrees with our conviction, and of this nature is the confession of a sincere man. The open-hearted or candid, the ingenuous and the naïf are always sincere; they conceal nothing; but the sincere are not always open-hearted or candid, much less ingenuous or naïf, for they do not say all they think, only they really think what they say. Sincerity is the mere agreement of the expression with what is thought or felt; it makes no difference whether we disclose much or little of what we think or feel. Openness or candour, ingenuity and naïveté refer at the same time to the whole of our thoughts being indiscriminately disclosed.

“ If the open-hearted and sincere have to apprehend any thing prejudicial from what they disclose, they are *fremüthig* (frank). *Fremüthigkeit* (frankness) is the opposite of fear.

“ The Confession of Faith of the Protestant states of Germany at Augsburg was *candid*, as far it was made without any reserve; *sincere*, as far as it agreed with their conviction; *frank*, as far as it was made without fearing the danger with which it might be attended.

“ A wise man is always *sincere* in his discourse, with tried friends he is *open-hearted* or *candid*, and when his duty demands it he is *frank*.”

In the Athenæum for the month of October 1808, Dr. J. Aikin among other synonymical elucidations has that of the two adjectives, *content* and *satisfied*. Mr. Eberhard has not

only elucidated the corresponding terms in German, but added the words *pleased* and *happy*. We shall close our extracts with the translation of his article.

“ *Glücklich* [(Happy); *Zufrieden* (Content); *Befriedigt* (Satisfied); *Vergnügt* (Pleased).—*Glückseligkeit* (Happiness); *Zufriedenheit* (Contentment); *Befriedigung* (Satisfaction); *Vergnügen* (Pleasure).

“ All these words denote the state of a man who has what he wishes.

“ The difference of their several meanings arises from the duration of this state, and from the degree of enjoyment afforded by the objects of his wishes.

“ *Befriedigung* (satisfaction) and *zufriedenheit* (contentment) denote only that situation in which we have no more wishes that we should like to see fulfilled. This situation is the opposite of that inquietude which unaccomplished wishes occasion. Both German words are derived from *frieden* (peace), a state of quiet. No wishes disquiet us any longer; what we have, suffices us.

“ But satisfaction and satisfied denote merely a situation of short duration, that situation, namely, which follows immediately after the fulfilment of a wish or of a desire. Content and contentment mark an habitual situation uninterrupted by any fresh wishes. Hence contentment refers to the whole desiring faculty; satisfaction simply to one particular desire. We say of a wish, a desire, a passion, that they are satisfied; of the heart, that it is content.

“ The miser who sees his wish, his desire, his anxiety, his passion to increase his heap of gold satisfied, is not content for all that; his heart and soul feel no contentment; he still forms fresh wishes, and his passion has never enough.

“ The satisfaction of our wishes frequently excites fresh ones, and tends rather to impede than to promote contentment.

“ We ought not to satisfy every desire of our children, that they may be early accustomed to be content.

“ No person can have all that he wishes, says Seneca, but every one may do without that which he has not, by quietly enjoying what falls to his share. Our desires are never satisfied: but nature is content with little.

“ The difference of satisfied and content from *vergnügt* (pleased, joyful) and *glücklich* (happy) is this. Satisfaction and contentment denote merely the being freed from unaccomplished wishes by the possession of the wished-for object. *Vergnügen* (pleasure, joy) and *glückseligkeit* (happiness), denote the enjoyment of the object, or the joy which the consciousness of possessing it causes, whether we have wished and procured it ourselves, or whether we have got it without either wishing for it, or doing any thing for

“ to obtain it. Although his passion be every day more satisfied
 “ by the increase of his treasure, yet the miser is not pleased (in
 “ the German sense of joyful) nor happy on that account.

“ Happiness differs from pleasure by its duration. A single
 “ pleasure, or even several pleasures, may be scattered over the
 “ whole dark picture of life, as rare luminous points, and yet the
 “ whole life, or the person to whose share these pleasures fall, can-
 “ not be called happy. Hence, it is justly asserted, that the man
 “ who spends his life in sensual pleasures is not to be called happy.
 “ Sensual pleasures, if we addict ourselves to them alone, are at-
 “ tended with disagreeable and painful consequences; and should
 “ they even not be immediately followed by such disagreeable and
 “ painful circumstances, he who hunts after sensual pleasures only,
 “ is, however, debarred from the enjoyment of more refined and no-
 “ bler pleasures. Happiness is the uninterrupted enjoyment of the
 “ best pleasures. The rude joy of the savage gives him at times the
 “ sensation of pleasure: but he is not happier than the member of a
 “ civilized community. The constant alternative of intemperance
 “ and want frequently disturbs his pleasure, and his rudeness de-
 “ prives him of the more refined pleasures which man in a state of
 “ civilization enjoys.

“ If happiness be superior to pleasure in duration, it is superior
 “ to contentment in intensity. All men may be equally content
 “ either because ignorance precludes them from wishing for more
 “ than they possess, or because they know how to limit their wishes.
 “ But all men are not equally happy. They cannot all possess an equal
 “ share of the good things of this world; and, if they did, they are
 “ not all equally capable of enjoying them. Hume's assertion, that
 “ all who are equally content, the little girl in her new gown, the
 “ commander at the head of a victorious army, the orator after ha-
 “ ving delivered a brilliant speech in a large assembly, are equally
 “ happy, must be pronounced erroneous. Happiness consists in the
 “ variety of the agreeable sensations of which we are conscious. A
 “ peasant has not the capacity of enjoying equal happiness with a
 “ philosopher. A large glass and a small one may both be filled to
 “ the brim, yet the larger one holds more liquor than the small
 “ one.

“ Were the savage even content in his situation, it would still be
 “ wrong to infer from thence with Rousseau that he ought to be left
 “ in that situation. Man's vocation is happiness. So true it is,
 “ that the most splendid paradoxes are frequently built upon unde-
 “ fined ideas, and that in the investigation of philosophical subjects,
 “ the accurate discrimination of the terms employed, is of the high-
 “ est importance.”

The justice of the concluding remark is incontrovertible.
 It is indeed of the utmost consequence that paradoxes which
 deaden the feelings and destroy the sympathy of man, be stre-

uously combated. Of this nature is Hume's assertion, that an equal portion of happiness is enjoyed by all who are equally content; and unfortunately it has lately been revived, we believe by Mr. *Forsyth*, in his *Principles of Moral Science*. Its tendency in a voluptuous age is inevitably to steel the heart, and to close the purse of the sensual rich. Ranging themselves under the philosophical banner which bears for its motto: 'There is no positive happiness!—they are glad to have an excuse for refusing to lend a helping-hand to the industrious poor, who by active, but unsuccessful, exertions, strive to obtain the objects that affect the mind with permanent agreeable sensations.

*“ Et voilà donc comment les heureux de la terre
Savent se dispenser aujourd' hui de bien faire !”*

When we recollect that happiness is the consciousness of lasting agreeable sensations, the enjoyment of the best pleasures, we need only look about us, to be convinced that it is not dealt out in equal portions. Religion itself, which bids us not to repine at our lot, and cheers us with promises of happiness in a future state, gives us clearly to understand, that all men may be equally content, but that they are not equally happy.

In tracing the derivations of words, Mr. Eberhard is generally ingenious: yet some of his etymologies appear rather fanciful. That of *albern* (childish, silly) might, we think, be found in the Teutonic *bairn*, a child, which is still used in the North of England, in Scotland, in Sweden, and in Denmark. *All bairn*, or quite a child, is the exact definition of the term *albern*, since the Germans call him *albern*, who, though grown up, yet acts and speaks like a child that has not attained the maturity of reason.

The German *sauber* (clean, neat) seems to be more closely allied with the root of the English *soap* or the Latin *sapo*, than with the Latin *separare*.

Loos, which is evidently the same with the English *lot*, a

portion or share, can have no other origin than in the Saxon *hlot*, a part or portion ; and *futter* (fodder, food, a feed) is more probably derived from the old Saxon *fodan*, which is the radix of the English verb *to feed*, than from the German *fett* (fat), which is itself the effect of feeding.

Mr. Eberhard's derivation of the German *ungefähr* (chance) from *was nicht wahr genommen wird* (what we are not sensible of, what we cannot be aware of before-hand, because we are unacquainted with its cause), is confirmed by the English *un-awares* ; and his etymology of the German *meer* (sea) from the Celtic *mor* a collection of water in a low place, is corroborated by the English *mere*, which in the North of England still signifies a lake. *Hornsea-mere*, in that part of the East-riding of Yorkshire which is called Holderness, is a lake, and so are *Winder-mere* or *Winander-mere* in Westmorland, and *Soham-mere*, *Wittlesea-mere*, and *Ramsey-mere* in the isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire.

The article *platz* (place) and *raum* (room, space) occurs twice, page 290 and page 337 of the fifth volume, not exactly in the same terms : but the elucidation is, upon the whole, of the same import.

We could point out a few omissions : for instance, in the article *lohn* (wages), *belohnung* (reward), and *preis* (price), the author refers to *vergeltung* (remuneration), *lohn* (salary, pay), and *belohnung* (recompense), which we have not been able to find ; and we would suggest a trifling improvement in the arrangement,—that of letting all the elucidations of a word which is synonymous with different terms in a different sense, follow upon each other immediately : for instance, the word *pein* (pain) is elucidated as synonymous with *qual* (torment), *marter* (torture), and *folter* (rack), in the fifth volume page 319, and as synonymous with *schmerz* (grief), and *weh* (woe), in the sixth volume, page 57. Such observations are, however, of little interest to the English reader, and it is more

than probable that the work has ere this been enlarged and improved in a second edition.

As a collection of German synonymes, Mr. Eberhard's work is certainly the richest hitherto known. It contains 1234 different articles, and the elucidation of every article bears the stamp of uncommon sagacity, and accurate discernment. We feel no hesitation in saying of Mr. Eberhard's classical performance, what Voltaire said of the French synonymes of the Abbé Girard:—His book will last as long as the language of which it elucidates the synonymous terms. We only wish that its worthy author would favour the world with a comparative view of the English, French, and German synonymes. His abilities are not only adequate to the task, but his discriminating powers and precision of thought, combined with his profound knowledge of the three languages, qualify him more eminently for a performance which would point out, and perhaps explain some of the striking diversities discernible in the character of the three nations. How happens it, for instance, that the English and Germans have no synonymes to the word *charms* (reize) similar to the French *attraits* and *appas* (attractions and allurements)? Is it not because the English and Germans praise their women more for the qualities of the heart, than for the attractiveness of their beauty, more for their interior, as it were, than for their exterior? *She is a sweet woman* is an expression unknown to the French, neither have they, nor have the English, a word for the German *hold, holdselig*, which expresses the highest degree of female loveliness in a moral point of view. Again, why have the French no synonyme to the words *witty* and *ingenious*, similar to the English *sensible*, and the German *sinnvoll*? Is it not because in France *genius* and *wit* are every thing, *sense* almost nothing? What a number of synonymous words in the English and in the German language, to express the different degrees and causes of want of activity and deficiency of exertion! The English have *lazy, idle, indolent, slothful, sluggish, inert, slow, tardy, listless, slack, loath,*

neglectful, negligent, careless, remiss, heedless, &c. The Germans have, *faul, träge, phlegmatisch, lass, lässig, fahrlässig, nachlässig, langsam, schlaff, erschlafft, verdrossen, dümmisch, säumig, saumselig, hinschleudernd, locker, sorglos, &c.* The French have only *paresseux, indolent, négligent, nonchalant, lent, tardif, fainéant, lâche, dégouté, &c.* Might one not be tempted to suppose, that the English and Germans attach a greater importance to labour and industry? These few hints are no doubt sufficient to vindicate what we have ventured to advance respecting the utility of a comparative view of English, French, and German synonymes, and to legitimate our wish that the work might be executed by the masterly hand of the philosophical German Synonymist whose penetrating judgment is so admirably evinced in the performance which we have been reviewing.

Each of the six volumes is provided with an alphabetical index, and there is at the end of the last, a complete alphabetical table of the contents of the whole six volumes, which points out every word, the meaning of which has been discriminated and fixed in the course of the work.

Mr. Eberhard has also condensed his elaborate and classical Dictionary of German Synonymous Words into one single volume in octavo, more particularly calculated for those natives of Germany, who, without devoting themselves to the philosophical study of languages, are desirous of speaking their native idiom with propriety. This smaller work has likewise been imported by Mr. Escher, 201, Piccadilly.

NUMBER I. OF A COLLECTION OF PORTRAITS SKETCHED
FROM THE LIFE, SINCE THE YEAR* 1793, BY GEORGE
DANCE, R. A.; ENGRAVED IN IMITATION OF THE ORI-
GINAL DRAWINGS BY WILLIAM DANIELL, A. R. A., AND
CONTAINING THE PORTRAITS OF

HORACE WALPOLE, EARL OF ORFORD;

GEORGE STEEVENS, F. R. S. AND A. S. S.;

MAJOR JAMES RENNELL, F. R. S.;

BISHOP DICKSON;

JAMES BOSWELL; and

JOHN MOORE, M. D.

*To be had of Mr. Wm. Daniell, No. 9, Cleveland-street,
(at the price of One Guinea per Number.) November
1808.*

THESE portraits are etchings performed with a lead pencil through softened etching-ground, so as to represent, with considerable accuracy, the original sketches of Mr. Dance; some of which have been seen with pleasure in the former exhibitions of the Royal Academy. In executing them Mr. W. Daniell appears to have successfully caught the freedom and spirit of Mr. Dance's crayon, and to have imitated the style of his hatching, which is characterized by its unlaboured simplicity, with corresponding fidelity.

Mr. Dance (who, as is well known, is not professionally a portrait-painter, but an architect of high celebrity) has drawn these portraits during his hours of relaxation from severer studies and more laborious employment. Of this we are informed in a short, respectful, and well-written, dedication to Sir George Beaumont: the public will, of course, make whatever allowances they think due to these considerations.

* Three of those contained in the present Number were taken in the course of that year.

The *principle* upon which these sketches and plates have been executed, is not that of producing exact and highly-finished likenesses of the distinguished originals, but powerful characteristic resemblances. Disclaiming colour, the minutiae of form, and the blandishments of the portrait-painter, the draftsman, in such works, aims at retaining only the principal traits of individuality. Those original touches from the discriminating hand of nature, which time deepens and mellows, and which, resulting from decision of character, mark the broader differences between one man and another, are, in portraits of this description, abstracted from those more delicate shades of difference in which men more nearly resemble each other. Such are those traces of the human countenance which remain longest on the memory, and by means of which we are enabled to call up the ideas of long-absent or departed friends.

In this kind of art, no blended graces of careful finishing are present to atone, with any class of observers, for the absence of what is characteristic or essential; it is therefore probably more difficult to accomplish in perfection than the more elaborate process, where, not abstraction, but mere visual comparison between the object and its representation is required. An artist who aims thus highly, proceeds, or should proceed, in his work, not with the painful exactness and anxiety of a witness at the bar, who is bound by an oath to tell "*the whole truth, and nothing but the truth*;" but rather with the selection, brevity, liberal circumspection and impartiality of a British judge, who, in forming his summary, dwells only on the cardinal points of the case before him.

How far Messrs. Dance and Daniell have shewn themselves possessed of these requisites, or have accomplished, or fallen short of, these purposes, is now for me to examine. With what allowances the public may be inclined to make, or what indulgences the artists may be disposed to hope for or are prepared to expect, on the score of not being, the one a professed

portrait-painter nor the other a portrait-engraver, the critic has nothing to do. It is enough that the work is *published*. Friends will be disposed to allow much; strangers perhaps little; while he who reviews, or allows his opinions to be printed, in the hope of improving the taste or assisting the judgment of the public, is bound by the laws of strict impartiality to allow nothing at all.

There is a single word in the title of this work which obliges me to dwell somewhat longer on these points, and to detain the reader's attention yet another moment from the portraits themselves.

The plates are professedly engraved from *sketches*. Now, though it be true that a man may sketch portraits, or whatever else he pleases, for his own private gratification, or the amusement of his familiar friends, without having purified his aims and elevated his purposes by study, yet when he asks and obtains an audience from mankind, he does immediate homage; and by the very act of publication, professes his allegiance to the sovereignty of first principles.

Nor has the justness of these arguments been unfelt by Mr. Dance. Though he says of his work that "it has proved a great relaxation from severer studies," he evidently says it not with the intention of deprecating liberal criticism, or disarming well grounded censure, for in the next paragraph he informs his readers, that his "purpose is to record *faithful* " *resemblances* of distinguished characters now living, of many " who have passed off the stage of life with the admiration of " mankind during the last fifteen years, and of a great variety " of individuals selected from all classes of the inhabitants of " the British islands." And he adds, " *How far I have succeeded in this attempt, the irrevocable sentence of the public* " *will decide.*"

The concluding paragraph of Mr. Dance's dedication, where confidence is balanced by modesty; where sincerity and com-

pliment are elegantly intertwined, and the fear of public failure is philosophically absorbed in the consolations of private friendship, should not be passed in silence. He says (to Sir George Beaumont), "It is with great pride that I make use
" of your permission to dedicate this work to you : may it con-
" tinue at least to be a lasting memorial of the respect and
" grateful attachment with which I shall never cease to remain,
" dear Sir George," &c. &c.

I now proceed to notice the portraits themselves. In that of HORACE WALPOLE, EARL OF ORFORD, (taken in the year 1793,) the principles of selection and abbreviation which I have endeavoured to explain, are exemplified with no inconsiderable degree of success. The likeness is strong. But what is seen of the lobe of his lordship's ear is larger than can easily be credited, and, considered with reference to the marking of his lower jaw, is set on somewhat too forward. Indeed the side-curl of his lordship's wig hangs so low, that we might well suppose his ear would be entirely hidden : and when I cover that portion of the ear which Mr. Dance has represented, the head altogether looks better for it, and more like my recollection of Lord Orford.

There is an unsusceptibility about this countenance which leaves the spectator at no loss to believe, that the retired leisure of its possessor would rather devote itself to the drudgery of registering the productions of ignorant ages, or treasuring the mere rarities of art, than delight itself in fanning the flame of contemporary genius. The physiognomist who might not know anything of Chatterton or Lord Orford, would sturdily refuse to acknowledge that it could possibly be that of the benevolent and discriminating Shunamite, who said, "Behold, now I perceive that this is an holy man of God which passeth by us continually ; let us make him a little chamber, I pray thee.—And let us set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a candlestick."

The second plate presents us with the head of **GEORGE STEEVENS**, the celebrated editor of Shakspeare, taken also in the year 1793.

As I do not remember ever to have seen this gentleman, I am not able to say anything of the likeness.

That a commentator has less occasion for brains than a dramatic poet, I believe is generally imagined: we do not therefore expect to see Mr. Steevens vying with Shakspeare himself in that prime source (as is supposed) of all that is estimable in literature. Yet if the commentator had even any moderate quantity—such as might be sufficient for a fellow-commoner at Kings-College, he must surely have kept them in his ink-horn, for, according to this portrait, there was no room for them in his head. It is literally, as the ancient Briton said of his nakedness, “all face.”

Whether this seeming deficiency be ascribable to nature or the draftsman, those who have seen and can recollect Mr. Steevens's person, will be best able to judge. In other respects a well-chastened taste is shewn both in the drawing and etching of this portrait.

MAJOR RENNELL's portrait, which forms the subject of the third plate, and was taken in the year 1794, is somewhat outré, and unless the impression before me be ill printed, is comparatively dull in its execution,* and unfinished. The Major has a small eye, but his eye is bright, and not so excessively small as is here represented: nor are the lines of his nose and mouth so much at variance: nor is the end of his nose so round.

Neither is Major Rennell's under-jaw of a length so preposterous as it has seemed to Mr. Dance. Why it reaches back at least an inch and a half beyond the lobe of his ear! It very rarely happens that the length of a man's jaw, measured from its insertion to the extremity of the lip, is equal to the whole

* Perhaps the engraver had met with a plate of impure copper, or with bad aqua-fortis. The print has much of this appearance.

distance between the eyebrow and bottom of the chin; and it never happens that what anatomists term the *process* of the jaw is backwarder than the orifice of the meator auditorius.

The head of the Right Reverend the BISHOP OF DOWNE (Dr. William Dickson), which is dated in 1794, is very superior to that of Major Rennell in all that respects sound knowledge of drawing; while in point of execution it is bright and chalky, and unites delicacy with spirit. The Bishop's eye, like that of the Major, appears disproportionably small, but as I never had the honour of seeing this prelate, which, judging from the gentlemanly benevolence of his countenance, must have been also a pleasure, I cannot speak of it with the same confidence; and it is well known that, in some faces, the eye when seen in profile appears very small.

The portrait of JAMES BOSWELL, taken in 1793, for strength and accuracy of resemblance, is exceeded by none that has yet appeared in the work, unless it be the head of Flaxman, in No. 2. Here are not only the features of *Jamie's* face, but the very consciousness—so inseparable from the man, and which marks so decidedly a feature of his mind—that he was sitting for his portrait. The sort of drawn up, starched, air, and girlish vanity, of the boarding-school, was perhaps never—without straying into the province of caricatura—more successfully substituted for dignity and manly self-possession. No man, who remembers Boswell, but will smile, or laugh outright, when he sees this portrait.

That of DOCTOR MOORE, with which the Number closes, is also an excellent general likeness of the original: Yet here, as in the former instances, the eye appears too small for the other features of the face, and the skull by far too small to have “carried all he knew.”

It seems proper to observe, in candour to Mr. Dance, and with respect to the apparent disproportion of the eyes in many of his portraits, that portrait-painters not unfrequently represent that feature of silent intelligence, the eye, as somewhat larger in

proportion to the rest of the countenance, than on strict examination we should find it in real life, and the influence which is consequent to the habit we are in of comparing pictures much more with each other than with their originals, may unconsciously operate to make us fancy the eyes in these profiles to be much smaller than they would appear if scrupulously compared with the proportions of nature herself. But with respect to the defective dimensions of the back part of Dr. Moore's head, and that of Mr. Steevens, I cannot find the same—or indeed any other—excuse. Nature could never have left the skulls of such men without parietal and occipital bones.

It will not escape observation, that as far as Mr. Daniell has yet proceeded with the work [through two numbers] the faces represented are all in profile, and all looking the same way; But the simplicity of principle which would soonest satiate those superficial observers who are all agaze for novelty and variety, may perhaps best please the scientific. The physiognomist who would examine how human countenances differ from each other, would probably be desirous of seeing all those which should be subjected to his contemplation, in the same view and in the same light; because, his mind not being led astray by the unessential ramblings of sense, he would thus behold no more, no less, and no other, than the real differences which existed between them. That this has been Mr. Dance's motive for this uniformity, may be inferred from the following sentence:—

“ I entertain a hope that this collection may not be uninteresting to those who respect superior intellect, or observe with admiration how surprisingly nature has diversified the human countenance.”

Of characters so distinguished, as are some of those which Mr. Dance has selected, it were to be wished that the biography had been more copious.

A TREATISE ON SCROFULA. BY JAMES RUSSELL, FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS, AND PROFESSOR OF CLINICAL SURGERY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH. *Printed for A. Constable and Co., and W. Laing, Edinburgh; J. Murray, London. 8vo. 5s. 1808.*

THE opportunities which the author of this treatise must necessarily possess of continually observing every surgical disease, and the habit which he has acquired of giving particular consideration to every case of importance, which passes within his view, for the purpose of describing it in his capacity of clinical lecturer on surgery at the University of Edinburgh;—of concentrating the prominent features;—of analyzing the symptoms, and separating the genuine from the anomalous;—of comparing as well as observing diseases;—must surely enable him to afford information of a very superior kind, in a work professedly practical.

The subject which Mr. Russell has chosen is one on which practical observations are surely most deserving the attention of all classes of professional readers. No man, it is presumed, can say—"I know enough of the nature and cure of scrofula."

Mr. Russell informs us in his preface, that this treatise was originally composed for the instruction of students in surgery, and recited by him as a discourse. He observes, that—

"The great object was to convey information in a plain and simple manner, and to establish fundamental principles upon satisfactory evidence."—Preface, p. iv.

The work is divided into chapters. In the first chapter, on the "*Hereditary Nature of Scrofula*," the author co-incides with most others on that well established fact:—but observes, that the disease is not always transmitted in an uninterrupted chain of continuity from sire to son: for that the grandfather and grandson are frequently seen victims of scrofulous affec-

tions, while the intermediate generation is perfectly exempt from any, the slightest symptom of the disease. In fact, that neither scrofula, nor gout, nor insanity, nor any other disease which can most truly be denominated hereditary, exist in an active state in the constitution of the offspring of scrofulous, arthritic, or insane parents at their birth; the predisposition, or peculiar susceptibility to those diseases only exists, and their actual occurrence may be frequently parried by due attention to the prophylactic treatment of children descended from a suspected ancestry.

In the second chapter, on the "*Symptoms and Appearances of Scrofula*," Mr. Russell gives a very faithful picture of the scrofulous constitution; in which, however, as it is a subject that has so often been well delineated, no new light could be expected. He justly, however, adds, that scrofulous affections not unfrequently occur as consequences of small-pox, or other debilitating diseases, even in persons in whom no such constitutional appearances pre-existed.

After observing that one of the most frequent symptoms of scrofula is enlargement of the lymphatic glands, Mr. Russell proceeds to repel the idea that the disease is confined to the lymphatic system.

"The frequency and often universality of such swellings in the lymphatic glands has induced many practitioners to suppose scrofula to depend entirely upon a morbid affection of the lymphatic system; though I question much whether this inference be supported by an accurate and extensive induction of facts; for many other parts of the body which show little of a glandular structure, are often the primitive seats of scrofula. It very frequently attacks the joints of the extremities, the bones, and the mucous membranes, without any previous or concomitant affection of the lymphatic system. Besides this, the lymphatic system is not only liable to idiopathic attacks of scrofula in common with the rest of the body, but is likewise disposed to suffer symptomatically, in consequence of the disposition of the glands to swell and inflame from any cause of irritation propagated along the course of the lymphatic vessels; and from this source of error the commencement of scrofula in the lymphatic system may be supposed more frequent than what the natural proportion of idiopathic cases warrants."—P. 11.

Scrofulous swellings of parts of the body that are not glandular, the author observes, are principally of two kinds : one kind remarkable for its softness ; the other, of a more firm gelatinous consistence. Neither these nor those of the lymphatic glands are in common cases attended by perceptible inflammation. Mr. Russell proceeds to trace these different species of swellings through their course. Slowness of progress may justly, as he adds, be considered as a usual character of all scrofulous swellings : yet, he observes, that those of the soft kind sometimes, though rarely, are of very rapid growth ; and selects a case, from among others which have occurred in his practice, in which a tumour of this kind indubitably arose in the course of a single night. These soft tumours begin, he observes, by effusion of a lymphous fluid into the reticular membrane ; and hence not being circumscribed by any boundary, they at first assume the character of a diffused, soft, inelastic, pappy enlargement : gradually, however, the mechanical pressure of repeated effusions on the circumference of the swelling, added to a slow, imperceptible, and painless inflammation, produces a condensation of that membrane ; which constitutes the rudiments of a cyst. Meantime the central laminae suffer obliteration, and the tumor assumes the character of circumscription ; and as the contents increase, the integuments, having but little disposition to ulcerate, are much stretched, and the tumor in consequence not unfrequently becomes of a particularly pendulous form.

The appearance of the contained matter differs according to the date of the tumor. At first it is a transparent lymph, which gradually undergoing decomposition, it has very much the appearance of curds and whey ; till at length the inflammation which supervenes, deposits a quantity of purulent matter ; which is more or less according to the continuance of the disease ; never, however, acquiring the true purulent appearance of a common phlegmonous abscess. At length, though slowly, the integuments ulcerate, and form a scrofulous sore. Such

are the course and termination of these tumors, which are commonly called *lupi*.

The firmer kind of scrofulous tumor is always of very slow progression, it occurs generally in the neighbourhood of joints. A general enlargement of the part occurs ; slow and diffused ; never becoming circumscribed : partial external inflammations ensue, and at these points the tumors burst : as there is no general internal communication, however, these discharges occasion but very little diminution of the swelling. These partial suppurations continue till the part becomes crouded with apertures which remain open, and form disagreeable sinuses : the part becomes more and more enlarged, and if the sores heal, the limb remains cumbrous and unsightly. Small independent swellings of this nature sometimes occur on the surface of the body, of the size of nuts ; which burst and are very difficult to heal, and if they do heal, they leave very unpleasant and ugly knots and irregularities.

These are the most usual forms of scrofulous tumors. Various anomalies, however, occasionally occur. Dependent on the degree of contamination with the disease, will be the greater or less agreement of the appearances of the tumor with the above descriptions ; or it will be more or less modified with the symptoms of phlegmonous abscess.

Two particular varieties are noticed by the author ; one of which, when opened, presents, instead of a cavity, a large fibrous slough, similar to that contained in a carbuncle. The other is filled by a peculiar fungous mass like that which exists in the rare disease, the *fungus hematodes* : from both these diseases they are, however, distinguishable by the absence of malignity.

The swelling of the lip, which is generally an attendant of scrofula, sometimes extends considerably ; is accompanied by a scabby eruption ; and deforms the countenance : but is never dangerous.

The scrofulous ulcers which are formed by the bursting of

these tumors, are then described with fidelity : they vary, however, occasionally ; counterfeiting sometimes the appearance of cancer ; from which they may be distinguished by an attention to the collateral evidence of constitutional and other symptoms. Scrofulous enlargements are seldom solitary.

“ Chap. III. *Prognosis.*” The author declares, that he cannot venture to lay down any precise prognosis on a general view of the disease. Scrofulous complaints, however, he observes, as a general rule, being characterized by indolence, are proportionally difficult of cure, as they are at a greater distance from the centre of circulation.

All chronic scrofulous sores, Mr. Russell considers as dangerous, if accompanied by fever ; as this generally degenerates into a hectic, which terminates fatally. This leads him to an investigation of the disputed point, whether hectic fever in such cases be produced by the absorption of the matter from the sore, or simply by the irritation of the ulcerated surface. He declines giving a decided opinion on the subject ; but seems inclined to think, that both these causes have some effect in the production of hectic. That the absorption of matter may contribute to it, he infers from the experiment introduced by Dr. Kirkland, of dressing such sores with pieces of dried sponge, which absorbed the matter as fast as it was deposited, by which the fever was immediately removed. This mode of dressing, Mr. Russell has repeated, several times, with the same result : but he laments that comparatively few cases will, from the form or extent of the sore, admit of the true and effectual application of this kind of dressing.

On the “ *Proximate Cure and Nature of Scrofula ;*”—which is the subject of the fourth chapter, Mr. Russell very judiciously declines entering upon a discussion which promises so barren a result. The nature and tendency of the disease is known so far as this, that it produces sedative effects on the vital powers : beyond this, in a treatise purporting to dwell only on facts, it would be wrong to exercise the fertile sug-

gestions of fancy. He takes occasion to combat the idea, that the matter of scrofulous sores is of a contagious nature ; not alone from reasoning on the frequency of these sores which are unaccompanied by any effects on the constitution, but from the experiments of Mr. Kortum, who repeatedly, but inefficiently, inoculated with such matter as accurately as possible.

The fifth chapter is on the "*Occasional Causes.*" Of these, Climate, Mr. Russell considers as the most powerful, and remarks, that the extremes either of heat or cold are equally free from scrofula ; which exists in countries that are variable, and principally those whose latitudes range from the forty-fifth to the sixtieth degree. The temperature of air which most conduces to this disease, being that which is the greatest degree of cold that can be conjoined with moisture ; which is a few degrees above the freezing point. This temperature, from thirty to forty degrees being the usual winter weather of Scotland, which is likewise situated within the above latitude ; that country is remarkable for the frequent occurrence of scrofulous complaints. Much exposure to inclement weather in persons predisposed to scrofula, frequently produces an attack of the disease ; as will any other cause which can tend to induce debility either of the constitution or of a part of the body ; as respiration of vitiated air, a deficiency of nutritious diet, want of exercise, dirt, and particularly any external injury, which producing the primary effusion, very powerfully tends to establish a scrofulous affection of the parts.

Chapter sixth, "*Method of Cure.*" The treatment of scrofula is to be considered in two stages ;—as prophylactic, where there are certain evidences of a scrofulous constitution without any local disease ;—as curative, when such disease really exists. Attention to diet and the other non-naturals, as they have been called, is considered by Mr. Russell as the principal circumstance which demands our care in the management of scrofulous patients. As a diet of deficient nourishment acts as an occasional cause of scrofula ; the remedy must con-

sist of aliment of a different class ; especially of a due proportion of animal food. The author here insists very properly on the impropriety of bringing up children of this habit on a vegetable and abstemious diet. He thinks, however, there are two cases of exception to employment of a full diet ;—one, where the actions of the system are so much enfeebled, and the digestive powers so completely destroyed, that such nourishment would only prove a load : this, however, has the appearance of an exception without the reality, as it is even in this case proper to allow as full a diet as can be digested. The other exception is, where a scrofulous predisposition is engrafted on a vigorous constitution, with a plethoric diathesis.

“ I do not know (says Mr. Russell) any appropriated technical
“ term to express that state of the system, which, in the common
“ language of the country, is termed a gross habit of body. It seems
“ to consist of a certain species of fullness different from plethora.
“ The complexion, in place of being florid, is of a pale yellowish
“ colour, and the eyes dull, the plumpness of the body is accom-
“ panied with flabbiness and clumsiness, and wants the firmness
“ and elegance of health, the glands are subject to infarction,
“ and the skin to be affected with superficial sores and pimples.
“ This particular constitution seems to be connected with a scrofu-
“ lous predisposition, and too full a mode of living, which requires
“ reduction by evacuation.”

The author proceeds to lay down very salutary regulations with respect to the administration of wine, exercise, frictions, and bathing. On this latter subject he descants at some length ; this being a remedy so generally prescribed in cases of scrofula. He gives some very excellent precautions with regard to the use of the cold bath, and draws a comparison between that and the warm bath ; and seems inclined, from repeated observations, to give the preference to the latter : as, besides possessing, as he believes, some intrinsic advantages over the cold bath ; it cannot prove injurious in any cases, or in any constitutions. He strongly urges the use of this remedy, which should be begun at the heat of from 90° to 100° ; and continued at first about twenty minutes ; increasing gradually both the temperature and the

length of time of each immersion. With respect to the use of the salt water or sulphureous baths in preference to that of simple water, he is not prepared to give an opinion: though if there be a greater probability from their supposed pre-eminence that they will be more accurately adhered to, they should undoubtedly be recommended; as no bath can prove ultimately advantageous unless continued several months.

The observations which follow on the necessity of artificial warmth by fires, where circumstances will not admit a change of climate,—of clothing,—protection from the weather,—purity of air,—early hours of rest, &c. are practical and judicious.

Mr. Russell proceeds to the medical treatment of Scrofula; and first of purgatives; on which very important part of the subject his remarks are fraught with intelligence and highly worthy of observation: he enters at some length into the modes of action of this class of remedies in the different constitutions subject to the disease. We are sorry that our limits will not permit us to give these observations in detail. The author is of opinion that cathartics are serviceable in this disease, properly conducted, both in the gross and in the weak and debilitated habit; in the former, to the greater extent to reduce the general fulness of the system; in the latter, merely to remove the alvine accumulation which generally exists in this temperament, the effects of atony and indigestion, and to establish a habit of regularity; but he observes that to effect this purpose very frequently much larger doses are required than to fulfil the intention in the former case. After a recommendation of the sulphureous springs of Moffat and Harrowgate, as useful aperients and some observations on saline cathartics in general, he proceeds to some remarks on Calomel, part of which we will transcribe.

“ But Calomel is by far the most celebrated of all the purgative
“ medicines which have ever been employed in the cure of Scrofula;
“ and it is, undoubtedly, a very serviceable remedy in many stages

“ of the disease. In order, however, to enjoy the beneficial operation of calomel with safety, we must be careful to avoid giving it in so large a quantity as to produce the proper specific effects of mercury in their full extent ; for a deep and lasting mercurial impression on the system, aggravates every symptom of scrofula. The truth of this position is amply confirmed by the unanimous testimony of all practitioners, who have been obliged to employ severe courses of mercury for the cure of venereal complaints in persons of scrofulous constitutions. So infallible, indeed, are the ruinous effects of mercury in scrofula, that, in many instances where mercury has been administered for the cure of venereal complaints, it has excited symptoms of scrofula, which, increasing gradually in severity, proved fatal at last.” P. 70.

This medicine, however, when judiciously administered, has the unqualified approbation of the author, except in scrofulous affections of the bones.

Next to cathartics, tonic remedies are the subjects of consideration. Of those of the vegetable class, the cinchona is that which is in the most universal estimation in cases of scrofula. To insure its advantages, the author remarks, the circumstances of the case should be favourable to its operation. The bowels should be previously evacuated ; there should be no tendency to fulness of habit ; nor is it so well adapted to cures of induration of the glands or other marks of congestion.

“ But when,” says he, “ none of these objections to the administration of cinchona exist ; when weakness is a principal symptom ; when the strength is to be supported, and a languid action roused into more vigorous exertion, cinchona may be usefully employed and has obtained the character of an excellent medicine. Its virtues are best calculated to meet the indications of these cases where there are extensive ulcers or large abscesses, with copious exhausting discharges of purulent matter ; and in general to communicate that degree of energy to the actions of the system, which tend to support and confirm the patient’s strength.” P. 74.

Of the mineral tonics, iron and the sulphuric acid are those exclusively, on which the author reposes much confidence, the others he considers as either inefficient or liable to danger in their operation. Of iron he observes :

“ It is not indeed so popular a remedy as cinchona, but, in my opinion, it acts more speedily and more powerfully on the constitution; at least I have met with several instances in which the patient has experienced very sensible benefit in the course of a few days, owing apparently to the good effects of chalybeate medicines. Iron is, besides, less liable than cinchona to oppress the stomach with indigestion, or to produce accumulation in the bowels; and upon these accounts is a more unexceptionable medicine. The virtues of iron are supposed to be more peculiarly appropriated to the purpose of invigorating the system, when oppressed with general languor, than for the cure of any particular symptom.” P. 77.

“ The sulphuric acid, (Mr. Russell remarks) agrees with all forms and stages of Scrofula. It is peculiarly adapted to that state of fever which is connected with the putrid sloughs that are often formed on the inside of large tumours when first exposed to the air, and to that state of weakness which disposes to copious perspiration upon very moderate exercise.” P. 78.

In the specific remedies recommended for the cure of Scrofula, Mr. Russell confesses he has no great confidence. They have been so numerous, and for the greater part have been so soon forgotten, after a short-lived reign of unlimited exaggeration of encomium, that he confines his observations to a few of those most popular at the present day. Of Cicuta he is not disposed to rate the virtues of great and general utility; though he confesses its advantages in some cases of scrofulous ulcers which counterfeit the aspect of cancer, in some rare scrofulous affections of the tongue, approaching to a venereal appearance, and in some few scrofulous affections of the mammae.

The Muriate of Barytes he considers as doubtful in virtue and noxious in effect, and as having yielded in practice to the Muriate of Lime. Of the efficacy of this last medicine he is extremely dubious from the results of his own practice, and he subjoins a note, in which his colleague Professor Thomson, from extensive trial, gives his opinion that it is not only inefficacious, but in some cases has proved deleterious.

The author next proceeds to the consideration of the “*Local Treatment of particular Symptoms*,” and observes, that although the attention to these is subservient to the general ma-

nagement of the health of the patient, founded on the constitutional indications, yet sometimes cases occur in which the general treatment is to be regulated by local symptoms ; nay, in which the local symptoms shall present a direct contra-indication to those of the system. Some well-marked cases of this kind he brings forward, and observes,

“ In all cases, the simultaneous existence of contradictory indications presents one of the greatest difficulties in practice. It is obviously impossible to fulfil both indications at one time ; so that the surgeon is often obliged to make a compromise between two opposites which cannot be reconciled, or to sacrifice one of the indications when it is comparatively of little value in respect of the other.” P. 93.

Analogous to this subject will be found these anomalous cases which partake both of scrofulous and phlegmonous action ; the nicety consists in distinguishing the predominance of one of these discordant tints in the complexion of the disease.

The author is dubious as to the good effects supposed to result from issues as a prophylactic remedy in scrofulous constitutions. He is of opinion that greater advantages would accrue from the due administration of cathartics.

For simple scrofulous ulcers the mildest dressings are recommended, as cold water frequently applied, or saturnine ointment. Where peculiar malignity exists, the applications must be modified according to appearances.

Mr. Russell confesses he knows of no mode of treatment by which scrofulous tumors may to a certainty be discussed ; which he should consider a desirable object when practicable ; but generally recommends cold watery applications ; more from custom than from any opinion of their utility. He next examines the question relative to the propriety of opening these tumors, and in general recommends a passive practice ; but admits that there are cases where, from peculiar situation of these tumors, the evacuation of their contents is to be recommended : he examines the different modes proposed of caustic, seton, extirpation, and assigns to each its merit in peculiarly adapted

cases ; but prefers, particularly if the collection be large, evacuation by a trocar, a union of the wound if possible, and repeated evacuation if necessary ; similar in most respects to the mode of practice recommended by Mr. Abernethy in Psoas Abscess. The same passive conduct which he advises in the first instance, he advises throughout the treatment of the ensuing ulcer ; thinking it very seldom indeed necessary in these scrofulous cases to have recourse to the knife to lay open sinuses, &c. though it indeed in some rare cases becomes so. Whether the tumour be opened by nature or the surgeon, a fever, if the collection be considerable, of a particular nature (by foreigners called a *foul fever*) frequently comes on immediately, and proves mortal often in a short time ; or a hectic supervenes which is more surely, though more slowly, destructive.

With respect to the local treatment of enlarged scrofulous glands, Mr. Russell observes, that he has little reliance on any, as he believes it should be quite subservient to that of the constitution. Where inflammatory symptoms exist, and in the incipient stage, local detractions of blood are adviseable, but only under such circumstances ; but the principal local remedies from which he expects much benefit, are warm fomentations, stimulant frictions, and repeated blistering ; and adds, that it has been recommended of late in indolently enlarged glands to apply dry friction to a very considerable extent and apparently to very great advantage. The extirpation of these glands Mr. Russell dissuades from, by some very cogent reasoning. He however admits that there are cases of extensive scrofulous ulceration which commits so much devastation on the health of the patient, as to render amputation necessary to preserve life.

Having now followed Mr. Russell closely throughout his work, we must finish our analysis of it by observing, that his treatise appears to be the result of observation and experience ; his description of the symptoms and appearances, which occur in the course of the disease, are given with fidelity and accuracy ; the method of treatment, which he suggests, seems founded

solely on practical attention, and recommended with that degree of candour which marks the practitioner of ability. The great majority of medical publications are filled with physiological and pathological controversial reasonings, or are professedly written to recommend some new doctrine or some new remedy : Mr. Russell, although his subject will admit of much ingenious theoretic controversy, yet it being intended as purely practical, enters not on the discussion ; neither has he any novelties of doctrine or of remedy to boast : he pretends merely to state the phenomena of the disease, as they have appeared to him ;—the result of his experience with respect to the remedies already known. Though the surgeon of great practical experience may find little which to him may appear new or convey instruction, he can, it is presumed, find nothing which he cannot approve ; while the yet inexperienced votary of the profession may attain much information from the pages of our author.

It will be perceived, that the work is confined to a general description of the disease ; it does not enlarge on the various affections of particular parts. Mr. Russell, in his conclusion, anticipates this objection, and observes that he meant it only as a general treatise ; and promises, on some future occasion, a continuation of the subject.

A VIEW OF THE NATURAL, POLITICAL, AND COMMERCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF IRELAND. BY THOMAS NEWENHAM, ESQ.—4to. *Printed for Cadell and Davis, London.* 1809. pp. 333.

THIS work is partly historical and partly statistical, but chiefly argumentative. To recommend a new set of political doctrines, and a new system of conduct towards Ireland, is the

real design of the publication. In the review of such a book it will be sufficient to give a summary of the statement as to facts. As for opinions, if disputable, it is the province of the critic to examine their accuracy and the solidity of the arguments on which they are founded.

The views of the author, and the object of the work, will best appear by a short extract from the recapitulation at the end of the first part—

“ With a soil so luxuriant and inexhaustible in many places, so fertile in most, and so capable in all others of being rendered at a trifling expence highly and permanently profitable—with a singular assemblage of all the various requisites for becoming the great *emporium of the commercial world*, the theatre of industry and arts, the granary of the west of Europe, and the successful rival of all other countries, ancient or modern, in commercial opulence and national strength, how has it happened that Ireland was not long since one of the richest countries in Europe? How did it happen that this fair island, so profusely gifted with all the more valuable boons of nature, continued, until near the close of the last century, in a state of comparative obscurity and national poverty?”

In the solution of these difficulties the ingenuity of the author is exercised.

The work itself is divided into four parts, and each part is subdivided into sections. It is introduced by a preface containing various explanations, and accompanied with an appendix consisting of a great variety of statistical tables respecting the trade, population, and other circumstances of Ireland.

The first part, consisting of four sections, is a statement very minute, and apparently very accurate, of the natural advantages of Ireland—the peculiar aptness of its situation for foreign commerce is the first of these advantages—the number, abundance, and convenience of its harbours and places of shelter for shipping, forms another division—the facility of internal communication, a third—and this facility is shewn to result from the extent and *proximity* of a winding coast; from the multi-

tude of large rivers navigable during all seasons, and intersecting the country in various directions—and, finally, from the frequency of turnpike and county roads, and the great plenty of excellent materials for making and maintaining them in good order. The fisheries, the minerals and fossils, the soil and climate, are the subjects of the two last sections. Of these, as of the other circumstances of Ireland, the author has drawn a picture somewhat partial but not very extravagant.

The expectations, however, that he seems to form upon these advantages are really monstrous. The east, the west, and the south are to contribute to the greatness of Ireland; and in a very short time after the full enjoyment of commercial independence, she is to eclipse the fading glories of England, not only in commerce and manufactures, but in population too, and even in naval strength. On three of these points the boast is conspicuous in every part of the book. As to the last, all doubt is removed by a passage to be found in page 12:—

“ With respect to number, proximity, security, and spaciousness
 “ of harbours, affording by these means the utmost facility to the
 “ prosecution of commerce, Ireland may be justly said to stand un-
 “ rivalled among other countries of equal or even much greater extent.
 “ And if these numerous and noble harbours be considered together
 “ with its peculiarly happy position, this country must surely ap-
 “ pear to every intelligent man to be pre-eminently qualified by
 “ nature, in these respects at least, for exercising the *utmost mari-*
 “ *time controul.*”

The statement thus given in the first part has an air of authenticity, and it should have been a simple statement; but in the eagerness of composition the author cannot help introducing a little of his reasoning, even while he is laying the premises. There is a thin stream of *furtive* argument pervading the whole of this region of fact. Allusions to the commercial tyranny of England are frequent and violent, and the effort is unceasing by which the author labours to insinuate, that a nation possessing great natural advantages must of necessity become

commercial, if it is not cramped by an oppressive government, or thwarted by the jealousy of a rival nation. Now the conclusion is not legitimate—it is an hypothesis totally unsupported by the history of commerce. No one of the commercial nations ever possessed the natural advantages that are attributed to Ireland; most of them were comparatively free, but no one, if we except Holland, so free as Ireland is at this moment—as Ireland has been for this century past: Phœnicia had no apparent means of internal communication, nor was she very happily situate for foreign commerce. Of her government we know little that is certain. But as Phœnicia was a province under the Assyrians, the Persians, and the Romans, in succession, she could not have enjoyed any lasting independence. Carthage, in point of situation and commercial circumstances, was not unlike Phœnicia. These were the most celebrated of the commercial nations among the ancients. During the ages, in which they respectively flourished, there were many other nations better situate both for external and internal commerce, more fruitful and more free, but less commercial. In the early times of modern history, the Venetians, the Genoese, the Flemings, and the Dutch, are among the most celebrated of the nations who enjoyed a flourishing commerce. Of these, the Genoese had to struggle with an ungrateful soil; they had few receptacles for shipping, and no ready means of internal communication; their government, after a long course of agitation, worse than a settled tyranny, whether it be of one, or the few, or the many; became in the days of Andrew Doria, the most oppressive of those which must always be oppressive—the simple forms. The Venetians had a similar government, and it may with safety be said that there is not a maritime nation in the world so ill adapted for external or internal communication. A few leagues of coast, at the bottom of a long narrow inhospitable gulf, with a barrier of mountains almost impassable on every side by land, were the only natural advantages to lead the Venetians to commerce; groaning as they were under the

oppressions of a privileged aristocracy. While many of the free, the fertile, the maritime republics of Italy were studiously devoting their attention to war and diplomacy, or to literature, they left the palm of commerce to nations less favoured in all the particulars enumerated by this author as the moving causes of commerce. The Flemings enjoyed a fruitful soil, but their internal communication was defective; they had neither numerous ports nor a favourable coast; and the government, although it had a semblance of freedom, was hardly to be called free. Certainly the government of Flanders under their own earls, or under the viceroys of Austria, is not to be compared in point of freedom to the government of Ireland, under the viceroy of England. The Dutch acquired their own independence; they established a free government; they had the means of external and internal communication; but they wanted that which our author, not without reason, accounts the very first requisite of commerce—a good soil, and a country sufficiently extensive.

But to shew how little the progress of commerce depends upon natural or political advantages, the condition of the Brazils may serve for a volume of proofs. Before the emigration of the court of Portugal (and still perhaps) many of the provinces of the Brazils were subject to a royal monopoly of salt; and the stagnation of trade, particularly in the article of salted provisions, was very naturally attributed to that cause. But three of the most fertile provinces of the country,—three whose boundless pastures were teeming with cattle, their rivers and their shores swarming with innumerable shoals of fish,—although they were exempt from the monopoly, and could have procured salt at the mere expence of the labour of collection, made no use of the advantage; they continued as indolent, as poor, as unambitious as the monopoly-struck inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces.

All these examples, and all the examples that can be collected to illustrate the progress of commerce, tend to shew that it

depends more upon moral than upon physical causes. The growth of commerce in a nation depends indeed upon circumstances so minute, that it is perhaps impossible for human sagacity to trace, to calculate, and reduce them to any system that is not liable to infinite exceptions. A certain degree of freedom and security of person and property are perhaps indispensable. But there is scarcely any circumstance, however unfavourable to the pursuit of commerce, that the persevering industry and the ingenuity of men have not surmounted. The attention of the author is so much engrossed with the mere instruments and appendages, that the genius and the fortune of commerce do not appear in the calculation. Harbours and roads, and navigable rivers and a fertile soil, are the body and limbs; but there is also a spirit without which a people cannot become commercial. Now the people of Ireland do not possess the spirit of enterprise in the same degree as their neighbours of England. Certainly they are not so industrious or persevering. The advocates of Irish commerce are always seeking for some external cause to account for the tardiness of their improvement as a commercial and civilized nation. The predominant cause is to be found within. They are fond of ascribing their backwardness to the jealousy of England: but they ought to consider, that the commerce of Ireland was nothing when that of England was considerable; that it has always been outstripped by the commerce of England, even in times when both countries were equally oppressed. It may be admitted, that a certain part of the English people has always entertained a jealousy of the commerce of Ireland; but has that jealousy been allowed to operate very far beyond the bounds of political precaution? And even admitting the most resentful aggravation of the fact, is it not quite unreasonable to assert, or insinuate, or expect that Ireland so lately civilized, if she had not been kept down by oppression, would have approached to the level of England? In the race of commerce she is both naturally and historically a very long age behind us.

During the reign of Elizabeth, the trade of England was not inconsiderable, although a monopoly in almost every article of commerce was granted to a patentee of the crown. What was the state of Ireland at the same epoch? Little better than a mere savage existence—a state to which there is no authentic period of English history that will admit a comparison.

Spenser the poet, who was secretary to Lord Grey de Wilton, lord-deputy of Ireland, about the close of the 16th century, has left a discourse on the state of Ireland in the time of Queen Elizabeth, in which he presents a most extraordinary picture of the national manners. The condition of that country appears in the description, as given by him, of their Gallow-glasses and their Kernes, (i. e. freebooters on foot and on horse-back); their ruffian Horse-boys, and their Carrows, or idle vagabond gamesters; their pilfering jesters, and their dissolute chieftains: hindmost in the savage groupe are the bards; and if the delineation be faithful, which there is no reason to doubt, as it accords so entirely with every other history of the times, it is of itself sufficient to solve many difficulties in the Irish character, and in a very great degree to account for the backwardness of Ireland. It runs thus:—"In which if he (i. e. the chieftain) shall find any to praise him and to give him encouragement, as those bards and rythmers do for little reward, or a share of a stolen cow, then he waxeth most insolent, and half mad with the love of himself and his own lewd deeds. And as for words to set forth such lewdness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted shew thereunto borrowed from the praises which are proper to virtue itself: as of a most notorious thief and wicked outlaw, which had lived all his lifetime of spoils and robberies, one of their bards in his praise will say, that he was none of the idle milksops that were brought up by the fire-side, but that most of his days he spent in arms and valiant enterprises; that he did never eat his meat before he won it with his sword; that he lay not all night slugging in a cabin under his mantle, but

“ used commonly to keep others waking to defend their lives,
“ and did light his candle at the flames of their houses to lead
“ him in the darkness; that the day was his night and the night
“ his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to
“ yield to him, but where he came he took per force the spoil
“ of other men’s love, and left but lamentation to their lovers;
“ that his music was not the harps, nor lays of love, but the
“ cries of people and the clashing of armour; and finally, that
“ he died not bewailed of many, but made many wail when he
“ died, that dearly bought his death.”

This is good testimony as to manners; and we know, that, early in the century before last, Ireland was still subject to the Brehon-law, a law by which the blood of man was set for a price. By their *Gavelkind* and their *Tanistry*, a community of property existed which rendered improvement hopeless. Nor did they enjoy a settled state either of law or government until after the revolution, not long before the 18th century. If then, during the short lapse of little more than a century of unwilling obedience, an island not half the size of Britain has been so improved by the connection as to contend not for a due proportion, but for a superiority, of commerce (for such are the pretensions of this author), of what has she to complain? The history of nations is hardly able to furnish an example of a transition so quick from utter barbarism to a degree of commercial splendour. If the connection with England has not produced this effect, the jealousy of England has not been able to prevent it. But it has been a fashion also to ascribe the long-continued barbarism of Ireland to the policy of England; and, as our author adopts this opinion, it will be proper to examine its accuracy. It has been asserted by a debating historian, from whom many of the opinions in this book are derived, that England was unwilling to impart her laws and her institutions to Ireland. Now this is but collateral to the argument. But when such an assertion is made, it is natural to consider the state of Ireland since the

first permanent settlement of the English in the country. That event happened in the days of James the First; and who is unacquainted with the labours of that monarch to introduce English law, and to promote civilization among the Irish—who will ever forget the barbarous massacre, in the days of Charles the First, of those who were destined to be civilizers of Ireland? When so confident an assertion is made, it is natural to suppose, without adverting to history, that the poor inhabitants of our sister-island were clamouring for British law, and that it was our aim, by force or by manœuvre, to rob them of their civilization. Now it deserves to be remembered, that, so late as the reign of Elizabeth, a whole village of native Irish were put to the sword by their fellow-countrymen because they had ceased to be utter barbarians, and had begun to adopt some of the customs of the English. It is well known also, that a chieftain of Ireland, about the same period, caused several of his followers to be executed, because they were addicted to a habit of eating bread: and that the introduction of the trial by jury was one of the great causes of dissatisfaction among the Irish of that age, and a reason assigned for their joining the enemy when Ireland was invaded by the Spaniards under Aquila about twelve years after the defeat of the Great Armada. These are facts authenticated by Camden, p. 457, 409, 644.

Such then are the testimonials to the condition of the Irish people at the beginning of the century before the last. And after the inveterate repugnance shewn upon so many occasions to the introduction not only of English laws but of manners and of innocent customs, it savours a little of bare-faced effrontery to assert, that we have grudged even our laws to our brethren of Ireland. It remains however to be enquired how far we have deserved such an imputation since the days of Queen Elizabeth: and a very few facts will be sufficient to expose the futility of the charge. James the First may be considered as the father and the founder of Ireland as a civilized country.

In the reign of Charles the First, the greater part of the Protestant colonists planted in the county of Ulster by his father, were massacred by the Irish Papists. This happened in the year 1641, and from that time very nearly to the end of the century, Ireland was, with the exception of a short respite, a perpetual scene of commotion. It was not until the year 1693, that she began to enjoy, for the first time, an interval of civilized repose. Now in the year 1695, the Commons, at the end of the session of parliament, transmitted an address to the King, in which they say, that they must ever acknowledge the great benefits they do, and their posterity will, receive from those *inestimable laws* given to them by his Majesty (William the Third) in that session of parliament, held under his Majesty's deputy, their excellent governor, Lord Capel. "An act to abolish the process for burning heretics," is one of the acts to which they allude, and with this quotation from an Irish address,—the character of the English government, as far as it can be affected by the charge of refusing to suffer Ireland to participate in the laws of this country, may be committed to the judgment of our fellow-countrymen of Ireland.

Upon the whole, it appears to be the object of this first part of Mr. Newenham's book to shew, that Ireland is capable of being made, and it is insinuated, that if she had not been oppressed, she would already have become nearly, if not quite, as rich, and populous, and powerful as England; and proportionably, if not positively, a much greater commercial and naval power. But the inference in this part of the work, at least, is premature. For the records of commerce are sufficient to prove; that as on the one hand, neither a barrenness of soil, nor arbitrary power, nor any other impediment, are sufficient to destroy the commercial spirit of a people; so where a nation is devoid of that spirit, the mere advantages of nature are never sufficient to make them commercial.

The three succeeding parts are professedly argumentative. They contain investigations of the causes which have retarded

the improvement of Ireland ; and these are divided into causes immediate—remote causes—and causes which, since the year 1780, have prevented the complete fruition of the natural advantages of Ireland. The second part treats of the causes (i. e. simply) which frustrated the natural advantages of Ireland. The first section of this part is intitled,—“ An account of the respective political conditions of Great-Britain and Ireland ; ”—but it is more properly to be denominated a hostile dissertation on the policy of Great-Britain with respect to Ireland. The two sections, that follow, are upon the English acts restrictive of the trade of Ireland, and the Irish acts favourable to the trade of Great-Britain. The fourth is upon acts, as they are called, of an *illusiv*e and inefficacious nature, professing to aim at the attainment of public benefits,—(it is to be presumed in Ireland). The last section treats of acts *occasioned by necessity*, favourable to the export-trade of Ireland. This table is of itself sufficient to apprise the reader what kind of a dissertation he is to expect. To speak in plain terms, it seems to be the object of this second part, to prove that a combination existed between the English and Irish parliaments to deceive the people, and depress the commerce of Ireland.

The acts of parliament, to which we are referred by the author in the second section of this part, are too numerous to be noticed separately. It will be more convenient, perhaps more satisfactory, to discuss the policy of the acts and their effects, together with the arguments which belong to Mr. Newenham, not as the inventor, but by right of adoption.

There has been for a long time a very general complaint (and in this book it is quite outrageous) that the manufactures of Ireland have been suppressed by arbitrary laws, in order to favour the manufactures of England. The case of the woollen-cloth trade is one of the most grievous, and seems to include the whole virtue of the argument. For, if the capital of Ireland was insufficient for the woollen,

it was equally insufficient for the glass, and for other manufactures. Now, admitting, for the sake of the argument, that the statement of those who complain is fully true, (as in part it may be,) it will appear, that the commercial policy of England was in effect not unfavourable to Ireland. For what would have been the consequence if Ireland had been left to pursue the bent of her inclination? Must it not be admitted that England has been able fully to supply, not only the home, but the foreign demand for woollen? If then, Ireland, through ignorance, or from a spirit of perverse emulation, had divided her scanty capital to employ part of it in the establishment and cultivation of the woollen-cloth manufacture, a glut of the home and foreign market would have ensued:—and then, either English capital must have been thrust out by Irish, and withdrawn from its usual channel, or the new Irish speculations must have failed, and the progress of their commercial improvement must have been retarded. One nation or the other, or both in proportionate degrees, must have suffered those inconveniences, and hardships, and losses, which always attend a sudden and considerable revulsion of capital by a forced change from one channel to another. But the people are gainers by this unnatural competition. True,—as travellers are by opposition coaches. The gain, however, is short-lived, and the competitors are ruined. The people of the two rival manufacturing countries would profit by the losses of the manufacturers. But the foreign consumers would be the great gainers at the expense of the two rival nations. Now, if it would have been desirable that such a state of things should never have existed, it must be equally desirable to prevent its existence. If the nations were independent, the true patriots in each would wish that chance or providence, or some common superior, having the wisdom to foresee the bad effects of such a competition, would by mediation, or any other effectual means, interpose and direct the unemployed capital of one of the countries towards some other channel of commerce: in such an interference the mediator would be careful, not in either country to

draw capital out of its accustomed channel, but to improve as much as possible the manufactures existing in each. Now this is precisely what has been done by England with respect to Ireland, as far as the woollen trade is concerned. But, being the governing country, and having an interest to serve, the motives of England are not unnaturally suspected. In answer to this, it can only be said, that the motives of England might have been impure. No doubt, they were as various as the dispositions of those who passed the laws on that subject. But if we turn from a barren speculation upon motives which are uncertain, and fix our attention upon effects, which are calculable, the policy of England in discountenancing the woollen manufacture of Ireland will appear to have been no less beneficial to Ireland than to England and the empire. The want of capital for the improvement of Ireland has been notorious as a subject of complaint from the time of the revolution. So sensible indeed were the leaders of the faction in the year 1785, of the inability of Ireland to support a commerce in various branches of trade, that when the commercial propositions of a mutual prohibition, "or mutual admission of manufactures," were made by England,—it was considered as a mockery. The inferiority of Ireland in almost every branch of commerce being so great, that even if the high duties against importation were repealed by England, there was little ground to hope that Ireland would derive any material or sensible benefit for a very long time to come. It may, therefore, be assumed, that to establish at once in that country a variety of manufactures was a hopeless irrational project. By the policy then of England, whether selfish or liberal, the insufficient capital of Ireland has been confined to a manufacture unrivalled and flourishing beyond example. If they had been left uncontrolled to the woollen speculation, their success would have been at least doubtful, it could not have been greater than it actually is in their present staple manufacture. In this instance, therefore, the jealousy of English manufacturers

to make the worst of it, has produced an arrangement by which the whole capital of Ireland has been employed and accumulated without any uncertainty or interruption.—Woollen cloth might have been the production of nature, it might have grown upon the hedges of England for centuries, it might have been capable of increase without end, so as to supply the universe. In such a case, if Ireland could have grown finer and cheaper woollen, but had been accustomed to produce linen with equal advantage to herself, and could not increase the production of one without diminishing the other in the same proportion, what would have been the choice of Ireland, suppose her independent? what should it have been as well for her own advantage as out of regard to her neighbour?—Nature has in general given to each country a peculiar production—to its inhabitants peculiar qualities and faculties. To Madeira, her wines; to China, her tea; to Mexico, her silver. If it had been otherwise,—if the productions of nature had been uniform, or every country had enjoyed an equal and sufficient proportion of all the several productions of nature, there would have been no such thing as commerce, unless the different turn for arts and manufactures to be found among the inhabitants of different countries had enabled them to diversify these unvaried productions, and to create something peculiar in each country to offer by way of exchange. Now the production of flax was congenial to the soil of Ireland; and the inhabitants, either by natural talent or by experience, had acquired a facility in the manufacture of linen. Their capital was scarcely adequate to the necessary extension and improvement of the established manufacture. But with the eagerness of infant adventurers, they were desirous of attempting every speculation. To emulate the woollen trade of England was perhaps the ambition of a party, or the vain-glory of some ill-judging speculators. A rivalry it must have been without profit to either country, since there was abundant employment of the most eligible kind for the whole capital of Ireland,—a rivalry, with certain loss

to the one country or the other. If there is then among nations united by nature and by interest, a legitimate object of controul,—this is the very case in which it is to be exercised.

The state of our West-Indian colonies of late years is sufficient to demonstrate the utility of some sort of interfereance, to prevent uninformed individuals from persisting in a course of ruinous competition; not to suffer speculative men through ignorance, or by the temptation of great temporary profits, to be led to their destruction, to involve others in the ruin, and to embarrass the affairs of the whole commonwealth. It has been a favourite maxim with political economists, that government should never interfere with private speculation. They say, that each individual more readily and more clearly discovers the road of interest, than persons either indifferent or having only a remote concern; that governments are always too fond of controul. These are well as general propositions. But the distresses of the West-India planters seem to prove, that individuals do not in all cases pursue their own interest with such infallibility of success; and, perhaps, it may be assumed, that government had the means of rating more precisely than it was possible for individuals, the probable state of future demand for West-India produce.

The revolution of St. Domingo, followed by the establishment of a republic of negroes, put an effectual stop to the cultivation of the usual produce of that island for exportation. And this event, together with the capture of many of the colonies of the enemy, produced so great a demand for the sugars of the English islands, that the colonists were naturally tempted to an increased cultivation. Most of them borrowed money from all quarters, and it was not unwillingly advanced upon a speculation which was then reputed so profitable and so hopeful. But it might have been foreseen that the colonies of the enemy would apply themselves to the cultivation of sugar, and put an end to the demand by an increasing supply. Though the islands of the enemy were under a blockade,—that might have rendered

their cultivation useless,—that should have increased the resources of England, and diminished the resources of the enemy, it might have been foreseen, that justice or policy would require of us to permit a neutral, by covering the produce of the enemy under his flag, to put an end to the demand for English produce, to supplant the increased English trade in sugar, which had the sanction of some little antiquity, by his own carrying trade, which was perfectly new; to increase his own gains by distressing us, and relieving our enemies—and by these means to render the speculations of the West-India planters unwise in the event. All these occurrences, and the policy connected with them, might have been foreseen—by government perhaps more early and more certainly than by individuals. If so, the governments of the Empire or the colonies might have prevented, not to be sure by force, but by some indirect operation, the investment of much valuable capital in the cultivation of unmarketable produce. And the planters now perceive, and would willingly acknowledge, that the discreet interference of government would have been compassionate to them, and useful to the empire. But the economists, in a tone of reproach somewhat inconsistent with their universal maxim of non-interference, and their favourite doctrine concerning the keen discernment of individuals in a matter of private interest,—tell the planters that they deserve a punishment severe as that which has fallen upon them for their obstinate pursuit of a losing speculation. If they deserve punishment, they have done something wrong. To prevent their folly would have been a kindness, but they owe nothing to those who reproach them. And it is doubly hard to be reproached for excess in speculation by men who love unlimited competition, because it enables all the world to buy at a cheap rate. But the whole argument concerning the interference of government in West-India speculations may be considered as hypothetical. Let it be granted that such an interference was difficult, or even impracticable. It will be sufficient for our conclusions, that, if

practicable, it would have prevented the distress of the West-India planters.

The woollen trade of England cannot have been so gainful a speculation as to make it desirable to raise a competition in Ireland. If the people of England had been paying the price of monopoly for their woollen cloths, or if the exportation price had afforded an immoderate profit, the woollen trade would have drawn English capital out of other trades: the potters of Staffordshire, the miners of Derbyshire, the manufacturers of Nottingham and Sheffield, would all have been rushing to the loom,—till the profits upon the manufacture of woollen cloth were reduced to the level of the other employments of capital. In such a case, if the new speculators were deceived by appearances; if the excessive demand for woollen was artificial; if it was likely to be fleeting,—it is hard to say what the conduct of government (being better informed as to the real state or probable duration of the market) ought to be. If the delusion was strong and general, as lately among the West-India planters; if the several capitalists of all the counties of England were establishing looms, and investing their capitals in the manufacture of woollen, perhaps it would not be unwise in government, notwithstanding the clamour against controul, to favour the established manufacturers by some exemptions, or to suspend a precipitate competition by some impost upon the new adventurers.

Woollen is the old staple of England. Linen was the first considerable manufacture of Ireland. The author of the “*Natural and Political Circumstances*” passes a severe indiscriminate censure upon the legislatures both of England and Ireland, apparently with much national zeal, but little sobriety or reflection. The English were, in fact, the fathers of Irish commerce. If there is any thing like a commercial spirit to be found in Ireland, it has emanated from that portion of English who are intermixed with the natives. The linen manufacture is the very child and pupil of England. Nursed in a colony of English, and fostered by the maternal care of En-

gland, it has grown up and spread to an extent that even prosperous nations might envy. By this policy, the division of labour, the very first principle in political economy, has been extended to nations. But the author does not appear sensible of the importance of the linen trade of Ireland. His mind is too much occupied with resentment. He cannot forget the injurious restraints upon the rising manufacture in woollen. But does he suppose, that Ireland would or ought to have supplied England and other countries both with linen and woollen? Does he think there would have been capital sufficient for both? or that it is not better to export linen unrivalled to the amount of four millions sterling annually, than to export to the same amount,—half linen and half woollen. Has he considered how an excess of speculation in manufacture was likely to affect his favourite project, the cultivation and improvement of land in Ireland? These are considerations not to be overlooked in a question of this nature. It must also be remembered, that the restraints upon Irish woollen trade affected only the exportation. For the historian (from whom this author has taken both matter and manner, and, in many instances, even his expression word for word, and without acknowledgment,) is deluded by his propensity to commiserate the victims of British oppression, when he asserts*, that the Irish were not suffered to manufacture their own woollen. It is, indeed, so far from the truth, that the act (10 and 11, W. III c. 10. § 1.) permits exportation from Ireland into England and Wales, the prohibition extending only to foreign parts. Now the supply of the home-market is the first step to improvement, and the in-

* “The Irish were, indeed, permitted to shear their flocks, but neither to export or manufacture the fleeces. Could any natural calamity operate more fatally than such a prohibition? Even to this, Ireland submitted with the silence and patience of the lamb which, “licks the hand just raised to shed its blood.” Belsham, Vol. I. p. 489.

ternal trade is always the most important as well as the most profitable branch of commerce. If the farmer makes a clear profit of more corn than he is able to consume, he employs the surplus in the maintenance of additional labourers. For this purpose he feeds the manufacturer, and the manufacturer, by way of return, furnishes clothing and tools for the new labourer. The capital is increased accordingly, and so it would proceed by infinite progression, if laid out upon productive labour as soon as acquired. This is a compendious history of the natural progress of agriculture and manufacture. If then the woollen manufacture of Ireland had been so excellent, and the industry and enterprise of the people so pre-eminent as this author imagines, the jealous restrictions of England, while they were confined to foreign commerce, could never have paralysed the internal woollen trade of Ireland. But suppose Ireland to have been as far advanced in civilization as England,—suppose her to have possessed capital enough to have carried on at once both linen and woollen manufactures, and at the same time to have made a proportionate progress in tillage,—suppose further, that the woollen speculation was likely to succeed, and that Ireland was able to furnish woollens as cheap, or even somewhat cheaper than England,—still there is something due to establishment. The interests of the great staples of the empire (not being monopolies) are not to be kept in a constant fever of competition. Excess of competition is little less pernicious than monopoly, and it tends to that point. It is a common and a very great fault among political economists to reason as if nothing were established, and nothing lost or hazarded by change,—to forget that the advantages of a new system are very often counterbalanced by the disadvantages and inconveniences of the alteration,—to deal with men as if they were unconscious of their own interests, or not attached to them, and as if a reasonable indulgence was not to be allowed to that attachment.

The prosperity of the Irish linen-manufacture proves, that English persecution has not been so rancorous against Ireland as it is pretended, for it would have been no difficult task to discourage the rising manufacture of linen either by absolutely refusing the English market, or by granting bounties upon the exportation of English linen, and laying a duty upon the importation of Irish linen, and the full establishment of the Irish manufacture, notwithstanding the free competition, seems in the second place to make it probable, that the Irish woollens would not have been more successful than the linen of England. This is the more probable because it happened in the case of other manufactures, particularly iron and sail-cloth: for notwithstanding the act permitting the exportation of those articles from Ireland to England, the importation from England to Ireland continued without abatement. But there was a need it seems, of protecting duties to encourage the infant manufacture in woollen. It was not sufficient to permit the manufacture of woollen cloth in Ireland. The woollen of all other countries, and England among the rest, was to be excluded or subjected to duties amounting to an exclusion. Now this is not a very moderate demand to be made by an infant state upon its parent and the author of its late-acquired civilization; but it was moreover false in expectation, for why should the woollen manufacture need protecting duties any more than the linen?—If it had been so vigorous and so hopeful as they pretend, it would have forced its way in the home-market at least, in spite of opposition.

The third section, according to the title, is upon “Irish acts favourable to British merchandize;” but by some fatality it is almost entirely occupied with an account of the acts passed by the parliament of Great Britain in favour of the linen-trade of Ireland, with a statement of the liberal bounties for its encouragement and the present very flourishing condition of the manufacture. The following exultation in particular is not a little inconsistent with the general tenor of the book and the principles of the author:

“ By this table it plainly appears that the linen-manufacture of
 “ Ireland has thriven exceedingly, although its rival manufacture in
 “ Britain was not only not suppressed but freely admitted as a com-
 “ petitor in the Irish market. *It has thriven much more than the*
 “ *cherished and boasted woollen manufacture of England*; for
 “ according to Mr. Chalmers, the value of the woollens exported
 “ from England on an average of the years 1699, 1700, 1701, was
 “ £.2,561,615, on an average of the years 1769, 70, 71,
 “ £.4,323,463, and on an average of the years 1790, 1, 2,
 “ £.5,056,733, and according to the account presented to parlia-
 “ ment previous to the Union, the value thereof on an average of three
 “ years ended in 1799 was £.7,771,808. *Whereas*, the quantity of
 “ linen annually exported from Ireland during the period ended in
 “ 1712, was 1,439,833 yards, and that exported during the period
 “ ended in 1792, was 37,663,748 yards, so that the export of wool-
 “ lens from England was little more than trebled in about 100
 “ years; but the export of linens from Ireland was nearly thrice
 “ trebled in a period of 70 years.”

Under this head also it is equally surprising to find a state-
 ment of British acts imposing a duty upon the importation of
 sail-cloth from Ireland, and establishing a bounty upon the ex-
 portation of the same manufacture from England. This can-
 not belong to the subject of Irish acts favourable to the trade
 of Britain, and as a subject of complaint it is quite unreason-
 able. For it appears that the Irish parliament had given the
 first example of the policy by enacting large bounties upon the
 exportation of sail-cloth from Ireland. The acts which really
 belong to the section, do not occupy two of its pages, and they
 tend only to shew, that the Irish parliament imposed duties
 upon the importation of certain manufactures into Ireland for
 the purpose of giving a preference to British over foreign arti-
 cles in the Irish market.

Having given an account of the several acts of the British
 and Irish legislatures directly prejudicial to the commerce of
 Ireland, the author proceeds to enumerate the acts passed by
 the parliament of Ireland, which he calls illusive.—What is
 meant by the term illusive, is to be considered in the first place,
 for it is not very clearly defined. It seems to be argued that
 they were acts intended to illude—to mock—to deceive the peo-

ple of Ireland with an appearance of encouragement, while the real tendency of the several enactments was to depress the commerce and to obstruct the improvement of the country: and this at the instigation of England, it being, according to this author, a joint conspiracy against the welfare of Ireland. But the legislature of Ireland was at that time the representative of the Protestant interest only: and if the parliament of Ireland was induced to enact laws injurious or illusive, it is to be presumed that the laws were not intended to injure or deceive their own party: if the measures were in effect such as they are described, it was the Catholics who were the objects of all this legislative malice, of this insidious hostility carried on under the mask of friendship. Now this would have been credible, if the legislature of either country in their measures regarding the Irish Catholics had shown a delicacy of conduct, a fear of creating offence, a desire to soothe and conciliate. But when it is recollected that at the very time when these acts are supposed to have been passed for the mere purpose of *illusion*, the Catholics were groaning under the oppression of penal laws so shamefully intolerant, that they could scarcely have been sensible to the severity of commercial regulations, is it not beyond all belief, that the parliament of England should have resorted to this unnecessary refinement in political treachery? When the English parliament thought it desirable to turn the attention of the Irish from the woollen to the linen manufacture, they were not scrupulous or hypocritical in their measures. Acts were passed openly and expressly to prevent the exportation of woollen, and ships of war were by public authority, appointed to cruize off the coast of Ireland, to prevent evasion and to render the acts effectual. These were measures that affected the Protestant as well as the Papist, but the government was not so powerless either in fact or in opinion, as to need the rotten prop of dissimulation to uphold their authority, not even for the purpose of oppression. There was in fact no need of deception, and the Protestant law-makers were self-deceived, if they were indeed so weak as to suppose, that

their own interests would not be affected by their own pernicious laws. That the Irish parliament was not so blind to the interest of Ireland, so careless of her right, or so submissive to the dictates of the English government, is sufficiently proved by the transactions of the last century. The opposition to the jurisdiction by appeal claimed by the English house of peers over all causes decided in the courts of Ireland, is one instance of a jealous attention to the privileges of Ireland which occurred early in the last century. On that occasion they went so far as to order into custody the barons of the exchequer for having, by their conduct and opinion, supported the claim of England. The resistance both of parliament and people to the introduction of Wood's copper coinage, is another instance to prove, that the legislature of Ireland was not before our days so totally dependent, nor the people so sunk in oppression as we are led to believe. In the middle of the same century, a few years before the accession of the present king, the parliament of Ireland claimed and maintained with great firmness, their right to appropriate the surplus of the revenue in discharge of part of their national debt. Are these the symptoms of undeviating submission, or of servile deference to the opinions of the English government?

Among the laws supposed by this author to be *illusory*, the bounties offered upon the exportation of corn from Ireland, are the most prominent. But illusion is out of the question. If the English parliament had thought fit to prevent the exportation of corn from Ireland, they would have made a positive law for that purpose, as they did when they prohibited the exportation of woollen. To an impartial man looking into the acts of that period, it appears probable, that the intentions of the legislature towards Ireland were benevolent, whatever their judgment might be. At least it does not appear so conclusively, as the author insists, that all the acts passed for the encouragement of tillage, were designed to have a contrary effect. The author indeed ought himself to have been aware, as most of his readers will be, how very weak he is in that assertion. He is

reduced to the necessity of labouring out his conclusion by way of inference, the premises themselves being deficient in one of the most material steps. It is admitted, that by various acts, prizes were offered to those who had made the greatest proficiency or improvement in agricultural pursuits, and that these prizes were increased and extended, when it was discovered that they were ineffectual. It is admitted that bounties were given for the carriage of corn by land, by canals and coast-ways. It is also admitted, that a bounty was proposed for the exportation of the surplus produce when corn was below a certain price. Now, if the price fixed was such as to afford a reasonable profit to the farmer, it is evident, that the bounty was likely to be as effectual as it ought to be; and this is in fact, the only point necessary to be ascertained in order to decide upon the character of the measure as far as regarded its efficacy. To determine that the Exportation Act was passed by the Irish parliament, with the deliberate view of its being nugatory, it would be requisite to prove distinctly, that the exportation price was so grossly below the common price of corn in Ireland, that men of the most ordinary information could not have been doubtful as to the inefficacy of such a bounty. Will it now be credited, that an author who accuses the legislature of a country, of conduct so base and hypocritical, admits that he has not been able to ascertain the price of corn in Ireland at the time when these bounty acts were passed. But for want of authentic information, he is driven to infer, that the price of wheat could not have been so much as 20s. in the quarter lower in Ireland than in England. Why so? The price at that particular time might have been very low in Ireland and very high in England. Besides, if the matter is to be settled not by fact, but by inference, those who are concerned for the honour of the Irish parliament and for the credit of human nature, might also be allowed to infer, that in the early state of the agriculture of Ireland, it is probable, the price of corn was actually very low. For of what does the price of corn consist?

Of rent, of wages, and profit. Now we know, that long after the revolution of 1688, the rent of Irish land was very inconsiderable; we know that the wages of labour were nothing in comparison of the wages of England; and profit must always bear a proportion to rent and wages. Is it not then to be inferred, that there was a difference very wide between the prices of corn in England and in Ireland. If so, it is enough to relieve the parliament who passed the bounty act, from the foul imputation of treachery, although it is still very possible, they might have miscalculated the price at which exportation ought to be permitted.

It is not in fact, a very easy task to fix judiciously, the highest price at which exportation ought to commence, and the lowest at which importation becomes expedient; especially in exportation if it is to be encouraged by a bounty. If the average price is fixed too high, the people might with justice complain of being taxed, to enable the grower of corn, to carry his produce out of the home-market when the demand is greater than the supply. If the bounty is limited by a false calculation of the average, to a price that is too low, the agriculturist complains, that it is unsafe for him to grow an abundance of corn, having no certain market for the surplus. But if this is to furnish matter of suspicion, as to the motives of those who provide bounties upon the exportation of corn, the English may have as much reason to be suspicious as the Irish.

The regular œconomists disapprove of bounties altogether. To them therefore the whole of this discussion will appear futile. But a reason for approving the policy of corn bounties may be given by those who are not tied to a system, and admitted by those whose minds are not pre-occupied. The author of the circumstances, looks to the practical effects produced by corn bounties upon agriculture: but perhaps, if not wisely managed, they may draw too much of the capital of a country to the improvement of land, and diminish the profits of all the

other employments of capital, together with the wages of labour in those employments, for the purpose only of producing a forced unnatural premature cultivation of land. In such a state of things, the sums that are deducted from the profit and wages of the other classes of the community, to provide bounties for the exportation of corn, are divided between the grower and the foreign consumer, who eats cheaper corn at the expence of the exporting nation. This is true, in a degree, with respect to all bounties upon the exportation of corn. But the true wisdom of corn-bounties is seen in the nicety of their adjustment. If they are ordered so as not to take effect until the home demand is fully satisfied, not until the price is too low to afford the grower a reasonable profit,—it is certain that even in that case, the exporting nation is furnishing cheap corn to their neighbours by a tax upon themselves. But then it is by these means that they insure an annual surplus, which may be retained in case of necessity; and in this point of view, corn-bounties may be considered as a premium of insurance against famine. In the cultivation of corn, as in all other speculations, it is undoubted, that if left to themselves, they will find their equilibrium. If corn is too cheap, capital is withdrawn from the cultivation, till it becomes dear enough to afford a level profit; if it be too dear, capital flows into that channel, till the price is reduced to an average with the profit upon the employment of stock in other trades. But is it not better, in a question of life and death, to secure an equable-moderate supply, though at some additional cost, than to be perpetually vibrating between the extremes of abundance and scarcity? In other trades we may wait for the slow-paced fluctuations of capital; but here the people may starve while they wait for the turning of the tide. When corn is actually scarce, it is too late for a supply to be produced by growth; and it is much too hazardous for a great nation to depend solely upon importation.

The author of this work is disposed to favour exportation a little too much; and though he boasts in one part of his work,

that the cultivation of waste land has been increasing with a rapidity beyond example in Ireland, he yet thinks it reasonable to demand that nine millions of English capital and public money should be expended in the improvement of Irish land. In substance he seems to assert that it was traitorous in the Irish parliament, and oppressive on the part of the English government, not to give English bounties at English prices, for the exportation of corn from Ireland. If this is the real meaning of the author, it is quite preposterous. No reasonable man could have demanded, or expected, that bounties should be given for the exportation of corn from Ireland at the same prices as from England; much less that the English government should suffer a subordinate island to exclude her corn from their market. That there was no settled intention to discourage the growth of corn in Ireland, appears sufficiently from the preambles to some of the acts that were passed on the subject; many of the passages in these preambles shewing, by good reasons, that the government had an interest in the success of agriculture among the Irish. In one instance it is admitted, that Dublin, the seat of government, was frequently reduced to great distress for want of corn; in others, that the revenue suffers from the same cause; the preamble stating that the act is necessary "in order to enable the people to bear the necessary expences of his Majesty's establishments:" and in most of them reasons are given, which are quite useless unless they are true.

In order to make his charge irresistible, the author does his countrymen the honour to suppose them full of intelligence, and perfectly acquainted with the most refined principles of political economy. If Adam Smith had been as suspicious as this Irish gentleman, he would have formed some very severe conclusions. To take one out of many instances that might be found in the "*Wealth of Nations*," the author of that work controverts the policy of corn-bounties shewing most incontestably, that they operate as a double tax upon the people—

for it is with their money that the merchant exporter is bribed to withdraw corn from the home-market, and thereby to increase the price of that which remains. In plain terms, they pay a premium to make corn dear: for that is the immediate operation of the measure. But bounties are continued notwithstanding the discovery; and Adam Smith might have presumed that these impolitic measures were adopted with an intent to injure and oppress the people. Now this, in the hands of Mr. Newenham, would furnish matter for an impeachment against a ministry; but happily he is of a different opinion as to bounties upon the exportation of corn.

When the acts *professing* (as he says) to promote the internal navigation of Ireland come under examination, their inefficacy and failure is ascribed to wilfulness—to an indifference as to the welfare of Ireland, if not with a sinister view to the interest of England. The reader will be curious to know the reason. Because the project was committed to private hands—because capital was not to be found—because manufactures were not plentiful, and few tolls paid—because the country was unimproved—and, very principally, because when it became a concern of government, the appointed funds turned out to be scarcely adequate—but, finally, because they were mismanaged. Now it is very surprising that in this part of the subject it should never have occurred to the author that all his indignation is misplaced, and that the efforts of the Irish parliament were not insincere but premature. At the time when these canal acts were passed, Ireland was in the very infancy of commerce. Naturally so; for although she follows the fortunes of England, and in due time partakes of the prosperity of England, it must be at a long interval. The very state of Ireland, the dearth of capital, the high interest upon money, which is always regulated by the profit upon capital, might have suggested to our author the true cause of the failure in all these speculations. There was some favourite employment of capital, in which great profit was made. Ireland had

a rising manufacture. It was as much as she could support; and by that all her means were absorbed. Better thus, than to have her strength divided—to have it wasted in a doubtful competition, or squandered upon unripe speculations: better not only for the speculators, but, in the event, for the country and its agricultural improvement. The best employment for the capital of any country is that in which the greatest profit is made. Whatever the employment may be, it can scarcely fail to end in the permanent improvement of the country. It was late in the commercial career of England that the attention of public-spirited men was turned to internal navigation; very late indeed that it was carried to any extent, or brought to a degree of perfection. It is but fifty years since the first grand canal was begun, and little more than thirty since all the great branches were completed. The turn of Ireland will come in due season, if the country is not ruined by the fiery impetuosity of her children.

The acts for the protection and encouragement of the Irish fisheries are also stigmatised with *the opprobrious term*. But unbiassed men, observing the solicitude and severity with which penalties are enacted against those who spear salmon, or destroy the spawn, or fry, or sell fish below a certain size;—observing also that the penalties are increased occasionally to make the prevention effectual, might be inclined to think the acts tyrannical—they could not call them illusive.

Among the acts that are termed illusive, there is one, (the last of this section) forming a charge against English government, which betrays very strong symptoms of political frenzy.

Early in the century before the last, Ireland abounded with forests; but owing to the frequency of rebellions, and the unsettled state of the country, there was a great waste of timber. It was found also that the woods furnished a shelter to the numerous gangs of depredators with which Ireland has almost at all times been infested; and this was so serious a grievance, that

the landlords almost universally made it one of the covenants in their leases, that the tenants should use nothing but timber for fuel. At that time, therefore, wood was of little value in Ireland ; but when she began to emerge from a state of barbarism, and the iron-works, which in the last century were very numerous in that country, began to increase, the value of timber was discovered, and the want of it caused a sudden obstruction in the progress of the iron-manufactories. In this state of things, what is the ground of accusation against England ? Not that she refused to assist the expiring manufactories—not that she neglected to offer a bounty upon the exportation of iron or the importation of fuel ; but that she suffered the importation of timber from Ireland into England to be continued as usual ; and all the imaginary consequences to Irish ship-building for the want of timber and iron are heaped on to aggravate the charge. This perhaps is a sufficient specimen of the spirit of the book. If the author had been content to say, in each case, such were the facts, and such have been the consequences, it would have been an hypothesis probable enough perhaps, but open to refutation : but to pronounce that all these consequences were distinctly foreseen and intended by the political œconomists of the last century, is an assertion that a reasonable man will not easily make, nor a sober man easily believe. It is obvious enough that the author is too prone to ascribe to intention what is the effect of ignorance or chance. If the legislators of England and Ireland had been so very sagacious, as he for the sake of his argument supposes, they would both have perceived more certainly and more frequently how much the real interests of the two countries are connected.

In the last section of the second part, the author has collected “ the Acts beneficial to the Export Trade of Ireland.” But no merit is allowed to England, it being carefully expressed in the title, that they are “ acts occasioned by necessity.” This is too much like systematic and inveterate prejudice. But what is the necessity ? A scarcity of iron in one instance, of

food and cattle in the other. But England had iron-mines unexhausted ; she had fertile land lying uncultivated as well as Ireland. It might be her interest to import these articles from the superfluities of Ireland, because all her capital was more profitably employed in other speculations. But Englishmen might have complained, because they could not have unlimited employment with a limited capital—because they could not have manufactures in iron and woollen, and all kinds of linen, at the same time that they were improving their pastures and supplying their navies, their armies, their great cities, and their growing population, with the flesh of cattle of their own feeding. If they had been so incurably jealous of the rising greatness of Ireland, they would have suffered any hardship, or found any means of supply, rather than have done so much to promote the rapid growth of Irish commerce. For the act permitting the importation of Irish cattle and provisions, is not one of those acts extorted by Irish *unanimity*, which furnishes our author with so much matter of triumph as to the past and hope as to the future. It was an act perfectly gratuitous on the part of England, for their necessities might have been supplied by their own industry, or from other countries in preference to Ireland. It was an act passed by England with the full knowledge that it must of necessity accelerate the improvement of Ireland, both as to its agricultural and manufacturing interests. For meat was then fast approaching to that price at which it becomes as profitable as any other produce of land.

In one of the following sections of the work, a fact is mentioned which demonstrates the value of the produce of pasture-land. It appears, (p. 220) that notwithstanding the great encouragement of tillage, and the consequent advantage of the corn-trade, there have been, since the corn-bounties were given, 123,886 Irish acres more in pasture than at any time before the corn-bounty act.

The third part of this work professes to be an investigation of the remote causes, which prevented the improvement of

Ireland, or (to follow the words of the author) “ of the remote “ cause which eventually operated in frustrating the natural advantages of Ireland.” The part is cut into five sections, and the propriety of the title is supported by the first section alone, the remaining four have little or nothing to do with the subject; and in truth the latter half of the first section also is liable to the same objection. Religious enmity is the remote cause to which Mr. Newenham, after the example of many eminent politicians, is bold to ascribe the disorders and miseries and the unimproved state of Ireland. Religious enmity has been inflamed by persecution; and by the long continuance of useless severities the breach had become very nearly irreparable. This is the substance of argument urged in the first half of the first section of this part; upon which it is to be observed, that a confusion of cause and effect appears to have perplexed the reasoning. Without hesitation, it may be admitted that, of the penal laws against popery, many were absurd, many more impolitic—almost all of them severe and oppressive. But when the rancour of the Catholics is ascribed, with so much confidence, to this as a principal cause, it is natural to trace up the origin of these severe penalties. Upon research, we find the annals of every country in Europe, about the time of the Reformation, teeming with the record of perpetual machinations, of frequent attempts, of plots on the very point of explosion; we read of universal and unceasing conspiracy among the papists; and we have upon record the melancholy certainty of two bloody exterminating massacres actually perpetrated;—one of these in Ireland, and, if the calculation of historians may be trusted, 40,000 Irish Protestants were destroyed in that merciless carnage. Now this, added to the cruelties exercised upon the Protestants when James the Second was in possession of Ireland, might be thought a sufficient reason for the utmost precaution,—perhaps an excuse for some degree of severity. At all events, it is conclusive to shew that the religious enmity both existed and broke forth into

fatal action long before the date of the penalties to which the enmity is principally ascribed. That the enmity has been aggravated by these penalties, may be considered as certain: but is there not equal reason to suppose, that, without some check upon the Catholics, no other religion could have existed in Ireland? When the author, in imitation of his predecessors in literature, asserts that persecution attaches a man to his religion, he asserts a truth, and it is certain that the example of his constancy is the most powerful advocate to multiply proselytes; but he forgets how much the nature of religious persecution is changed. In modern times, it does not act by the terror of the fagot and the wheel, by the shirt of pitch or by the torture. It is more effectual to retain friends, to discourage adversaries, and gain adherents, than to raise in the spectators a dangerous admiration of the fortitude of unhappy victims. If he intends to assert, that penalties and incapacities have no effect in suppressing a religion, and that the exclusive appropriation of dignities and offices of emolument have no effect in maintaining a religion, he deceives himself very grossly. For to what does he ascribe all the changes which have taken place in the national religion of England? Does he suppose that, after the accession of the bloody Mary, the number of sincere Catholics increased, and that after her decease they were diminished; that the Sectaries for conscience-sake were the majority of the nation during the Commonwealth, and that after the Restoration they became the minority? In fact, there is always a neutral party in religion, and this party being swayed by worldly interest, those who have the dispensation of dignities and emoluments, will command their attachment. Where sects who are sincere in their religion are near an equality, the accession of the interested infidels and the apostacy of hypocrites is sure to cast the balance. This is the true solution of that strange appearance in history, of sudden and frequent changes in the national religion. In Ireland, the people were too little civilized to be hypocritical or lukewarm in their faith, and the Catholic party

being so preponderant, it required the utmost support, both civil, military, and ecclesiastical, to secure even the existence of the Protestants. It would be dangerous, therefore, to confide in the political wisdom of an author, who thinks that at such a time, and in such a state of things, it would have been expedient to divide the patronage of government between the Catholics and the Protestants. Such is the opinion of Mr. Newenham. His speculations would furnish abundant matter for observation; but this article has now grown to a length which makes it necessary to postpone the consideration of the remaining part of this work to some future opportunity.

*ANSWERS TO MR. MALTHUS'S ESSAY ON THE PRINCIPLE
OF POPULATION.*

DISQUISITIONS ON POPULATION, BY ROBERT ACKLOM INGRAM, B. D. RECTOR OF SEGRAVE IN LEICESTERSHIRE.
Hatchard, London.

DISSERTATIONS ON MAN, BY T. JARROLD, M. D. *Cadell and Davis, Strand; and Burditt, Paternoster-row.*

A REPLY TO THE ESSAY ON POPULATION. *Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster-row.*

IT seems strange, on first consideration, that a study so momentous to the human race as the science of political economy, has made so much slower a progress than almost any other philosophical pursuit: that, for several thousand years, a melancholy twilight, if not an absolute darkness, hung upon that subject, which, more than almost any other temporal concern, mankind were interested to investigate and thoroughly to comprehend. But we must recollect, that, though civilization can never be perfected without the preliminary establishment of certain general principles in political economy, yet among

those very principles, there are many essential to perfection, which are not discoverable except in a state where civilization has already made actual and material advances. Now, even, if we believe, in their fullest extent, those accounts which so highly extol the civilization of two or three particular states in the earlier ages, we shall by no means be able to find such a diffusion of social ordinances, or such a facility of commercial intercourse, as can be supposed to have afforded data for great theories of political economy.

But the sages of modern times possess most important facts, of which many have arisen within the last three or four centuries, and which are now becoming the ground-work of original, interesting, and momentous speculation. It will not be difficult to form some idea of the advantage resulting from modern knowledge, when we reflect that among the topics of political economy which were unknown in the polished empires of the ancient world, and of course in the barbarism of later society, may be enumerated the vast extension of manufactures, the still more gigantic growth of foreign commerce, the invention of a paper-currency, the establishment of naval empires, the enforcement of laws for the maintenance of the poor, the realization in this country of a constitution very nearly approaching the perfection of social liberty, the proportionate civilization of the continental states, and the discovery of the Trans-Atlantic hemisphere——.

Mr. Malthus is a writer who has profited, in a peculiar degree, by this modern experience: and the answers to his *Essay on the Principle of Population* ought to be publicly examined, lest their uncandid insinuations, their forced constructions, their unfounded assertions, and their garbled extracts, should propagate incorrect notions on this great and important topic: a topic, indeed, which interests all the human kind, and embraces the very existence of myriads yet unborn. When a sophistical writer is treated as too insignificant to be noticed, the strength of his arguments will often

seem to have occasioned that silence which has resulted only from their weakness, and he may appear to be above an answer, when in fact he is beneath one.

The answers under consideration are those of Mr. Ingram, of Dr. Jarrold, and of an anonymous author, who published three letters of his present collection in Mr. Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register*. Through the pages of all these answers are furiously bandied the clattering charges of impiety, of inhumanity, of futility, and of self-contradiction: and as these are no slight errors, let us survey, in the first place, the principles and conclusions which Mr. Malthus's essay really contains.

There is, Mr. Malthus observes, a constant tendency in all animated beings to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for them: which tendency arises from a powerful instinct impelling them to the propagation of their kind. Of course the effects of this tendency on our own species deserve to be carefully considered.

The vegetable race, which we consume, resembles us in its tendency to propagate its own species, and in its capability of infinitely increasing such propagation. But the soil is not of an analogous nature: for, however men may procreate more men, and vegetables produce more vegetables, it is very plain that the soil, which is necessary to nourish the vegetables for the use of the men, will not easily be made to bring forth more soil. The limited power in the earth of providing sustenance must therefore check the capability in the human race of increasing to infinitude.

Even at the lowest estimate, "Population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself, every twenty-five years, or increases in a *geometrical ratio*."—See *Essay*, Third Edition, Vol. I. p. 8. But, "considering the present average state of the earth, subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an *arithmetical ratio*."—Vol. I. p. 12.

These positions, of course, have been in no wise disputed.

But let it be observed, that when population is described according to Mr. Malthus, as having a perpetual tendency to outstrip the means of subsistence, the reader is to understand, not that population has increased beyond the subsistence, which, in most countries, might be attained by possible, though remote improvements—but that population long has pressed, or is now pressing, in every inhabited country, to increase beyond the subsistence attainable under existing circumstances. This pressure is proved beyond all doubt by Mr. Malthus, who, in a series of most ingenious remarks on the various nations of ancient and modern times, shews, that, except in the case of new colonies, all states, however thinly peopled, possess a population as numerous as they can possibly support without removing those weighty checks which repress existence. Strongly as we are urged by the adduced facts, to believe in this constant pressure of the population against the actually-attainable subsistence, we are not less strongly impelled to the same belief by abstract reasoning. To recollect the mere properties of the procreative principle, is sufficient for removing all doubt of this pressure, as will appear from the following hypothesis:—We will suppose that human food could be made to increase, by periods of twenty-five years each, in an arithmetical ratio; that is to say, that a definite quantity of this food could be added in each new period to the stock already existing. In reality, to be sure, the increase of food can never be so rapid as we here suppose; but this rate we grant for the argument's sake. Then, in Mr. Malthus's words,

“ Let us call the population of this Island eleven millions, and
“ suppose the present produce equal to the easy support of such a
“ number. In the first twenty-five years, the population would be
“ twenty-two millions, and the food being also doubled, the means of
“ subsistence would be equal to this increase. In the next twenty-
“ five years the population would be forty-four millions, and the
“ means of subsistence only equal to the support of thirty-three
“ millions.” Vol. I. p. 12.

Here the multiplication of the human-race must pause, be-

cause these forty-four millions, having no means of procuring food for their whole number, could not live to become the parents of another such increase. The case would be the same if we took the whole earth, instead of this Island; and then too the possibility of emigration would be excluded.

These statements sufficiently demonstrate, that the vigour of the procreative principle is not less than its ardour: and when considered in concurrence with the facts that Mr. Malthus has collected, convince us, that population, in every country, has a tendency to increase beyond the subsistence attainable under existing circumstances.

Here occurs the following enquiry:—If the procreative principle be really so powerful, why has it not already overcome all obstacles, even in the most savage nations, and raised the greatest quantity of food that each region could be compelled to produce?

It may be observed, in answer, that the force which the procreative principle possesses, must be considered rather as a capability, than as a positive power. The example just now given explains this distinction: and shews, that the capability, immense as it abstractedly is, will always be checked in an early stage of its career, by boundaries which it must not pass. After the production of the forty-four millions, not an increase of population, but a decrease must indispensably happen,—and happen from absolute famine. Never will the streams of population swell their mighty waters sufficiently to overturn the obstructions with which famine can choak the channel: the waves for a little while may overflow their accustomed height, but they soon subside to their level, and their springs are closed. If some new resource of subsistence arise to remove the mound, again the fountains of population are unlocked, and again the stationary waters are impelled into motion, till the obstructions of famine are accumulated once more, and fling their stupendous force athwart the current.

Thus, though the conceivable capability of the procreative

principle is still infinitely superior to the power in the earth of producing food, the actual force of the principle must ever be limited; and limited not only by the earth's conceivable power of bearing subsistence, but by man's actual faculty of procuring his supplies. In short, the capability of the procreative principle can never employ, practically, the whole vantage of its geometrical superiority to the earth's productive powers.

If indeed a district of miserable savages, which was capable, under existing circumstances, of maintaining only ten millions, should give birth to twenty, and the ten superabundant millions, by some miracle, should be made to endure the pangs of famine, yet still to retain life; the pressure of hunger might possibly give birth to the useful pursuits of agriculture and commercial intercourse. But as nobody calculates upon miracles, except perhaps Mr. Ingram, and Dr. Jarrold, there seems little room to hope, that, without the benevolent efforts of nations already civilized, even the commonest resources will ever be made accessible to beings in the lowest stages of society. For, though these beings are afflicted with evils which dreadfully prove the pressure of population against the actually attainable subsistence, yet the necessarily recurring mortality that sweeps away the excess of lives, continues, by relieving the survivors from the sufferings of want, to prevent the opening of further resources.

The direness of the checks that prevent the increase of food among people in the lowest stages of society, will appear but too unquestionable to any intelligent reader, who shall examine authentic accounts of such nations. He will clearly see how great improvements, moral and physical, must be effected, before the wretched inhabitant of *Tierra del Fuego*, in his cold and comfortless climate, can learn to rack the ungrateful soil for a subsistence. It does not seem unlikely, that if the whole globe had been thus inhospitable, no human being would ever have reached so high a civilization as even that which now exists

among the lowest classes in Spain. But Providence, in making a part of the earth spontaneously prolific, did something for mankind, in order to instruct them how much more they might and ought to do for themselves.

The checks upon increase among savages are more strikingly obvious, than the checks in more civilized societies, where population has passed the obstacles to agriculture, or even to commercial intercourse, but stopped at some obstruction in a more advanced stage of the journey. In the government of all nations, there is undoubtedly more or less of error, which operates, in some degree, as a check upon increase ; but want, occasioned, in a hundred various modes, by the ignorance, sensuality, and bad morals of the people at large, will be found the most powerful check even in civilized states, through all their gradations of political rank, from the wild inhabitants of the Irish bogs, to the decent labourers of Scotland. These reasonings will perhaps be acknowledged to furnish a fair answer to the enquiry which was anticipated in page 359.

In nearly all countries then, population presses against the limits of the actually attainable maintenance ; but there is no doubt, that the active exertion of persons possessing advantages in knowledge and virtue, might yet open almost every-where many resources which would maintain an increased sum of decent and comfortable existence. Yet, having seen how potent and rapid is the energy of the procreative principle, we may assure ourselves, if every possible resource of subsistence were actually opened, and the whole earth cultivated like a garden, that the population of the world, unless restrained by some preventive influence, would quickly increase beyond the food, which even under those circumstances, could be produced. Then, of course, positive and active miseries must arrive, and grind the population to that level with the means of subsistence, which is never to be transgressed with permanence or impunity. What preventive influence or what

active miseries operate in checking population, is the next point to be stated.

The checks to population Mr. Malthus classes under two heads, the preventive and the positive. The preventive check seems to be of two kinds : one, such an abstinence from marriage as is not unattended with illicit indulgences ; and the other, a virtuous abstinence. Under the head positive checks, he ranks,

“ Every cause, whether arising from vice or misery, which in any degree contributes to shorten the natural duration of life. Under this head, therefore, may be enumerated all unwholesome occupations, severe labour, and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, plague, and famine.” Vol. I. p. 19.

All the checks therefore, whether preventive or positive, are resolvable into *moral restraint, vice, and misery* : for, in these terms, the *fear of misery* is included.

“ Of the preventive checks,” says this able author, “ the restraint from marriage, which is not followed by irregular gratifications, may properly be termed, moral restraint.

“ Promiscuous intercourse, unnatural passions, violations of the marriage bed, and improper arts to conceal the consequences of irregular connections, are preventive checks that clearly come under the head of vice.

“ Of the positive checks, those, which appear to arise unavoidably from the laws of nature, may be called exclusively misery : and those, which we obviously bring upon ourselves, such as wars, excesses, and many others, which it would be in our power to avoid, are of a mixed nature. They are brought upon us by vice, and their consequences are misery.” Vol. I. p. 20.

It must be observed by the way, that Mr. Malthus does not aver any of the evils which nature inflicts upon us, to be *in fact* unavoidable, nor, certainly, to be incapable of alleviation. He says no more than that, while there are some evils which *obviously* are brought upon us *by ourselves*, there are others, which, whatever may be the conceivable remedies, *appear* to arise unavoidably *from nature*. It is precisely for the promotion of the remedies, that Mr. Malthus's essay is written.

He thus proceeds:

“ The sum of all these preventive and positive checks taken together, forms the immediate check to population, and it is evident, that in every country, where the whole of the procreative power cannot be called into action, the preventive and the positive checks must vary inversely as each other: that is, in countries either naturally unhealthy, or subject to a great mortality, from whatever cause it may arise, the preventive check will prevail very little. In those countries, on the contrary, which are naturally healthy, and where the preventive check is found to prevail with considerable force, the positive check will prevail very little, or the mortality be very small.” Vol. I. p. 20, 21.

Now, since a virtuous population and a small proportionate mortality, are the principal ingredients in a nation's happiness, we are urged by interest as well as by duty, to encourage the preventive check; because, for the most part, the operation of such a check will at once imply virtue and diminish mortality.—

Through the present article, the phrases of *the positive checks*, and *the preventive checks*, are perpetually occurring: and it may therefore be necessary to explain the precise sense in which these phrases are here employed. The *positive checks*, then, are always discussed, according to the comprehensive and correct definition above quoted from the nineteenth page of the Essay. And by the *preventive check*, which is so earnestly enforced, is meant, in these pages, as in Mr. Malthus's work, the prudence which restrains men possessing no means of supporting a family, from producing a family at all; whether that prudence be or be not attended, during the period of restraint, by a conduct strictly moral as to sexual intercourse.

To promote the preventive check, is a principal object, here, as well as in the Essay. Now, as it has been alleged, that a general abstinence from imprudent marriages is likely to increase the sum of vicious intercourse, and that, therefore, morality forbids any state to enforce the preventive check in this latitude of interpretation, the following answer may be urged, which, if Mr. Malthus can condescend to allow a momentary alliance, will serve for his treatise as well as for this Review.—

The indiscriminate tendency to marriage *must necessarily* produce gross mischief, and ought, therefore, to be checked by the state. The restraint from marriage, *does not necessarily* though it *may possibly*, produce mischief. Where vicious indulgences begin to follow, or continue to accompany that restraint, they take place *by choice*: and evils are not chargeable upon the legislator, unless the legislator's edict have *necessarily* produced them. Now the greater number among the other sex, and some among our own, afford a proof, most honourable to themselves, that vice is by no means the *necessary* consequence of celibacy. If we can enlarge the sphere of moral restraint, we ought to do it, and we wish to do it: but we cannot consent to perpetuate the miseries of an undue population, merely because individuals, after having been induced to a prudential restraint by the education and instruction we propose to impart, may make so bad a use of these advantages, as to indulge themselves improperly. It may fairly be hoped, that such advantages will even have some effect in diminishing illicit gratification. But we might be content to put the whole question upon a broad footing, and say, to a man the most religious and virtuous in the whole kingdom, whose son should be about to marry, without the means of maintaining a family, "Sir, if your son can be brought to abstain from this indiscreet marriage, shall you regret the dissuasive, because during his celibacy, there is a chance of his allowing himself some incorrect gratification?"—What would be reasonable in an individual case such as this, is reasonable throughout a state—. Mr. Malthus observes, that the lives of the married men in our time, are not much purer than those of the unmarried; and he shews clearly, how much greater a sum as well of unchastity as of other vice, results from indigence (of which, imprudent marriage is a very general cause), than can ever arise from prudential restraint. He might even have spoken a little further than of these indigent parents, and remarked, that if there be any particular class of people, which, beyond every other, is perpe-

tually offending against the laws and decencies of society, that class is the offspring which indigent parents contrive to breed up. The maintenance and education of such a progeny, is but too frequently vice, and, of course, in maturer years, vice is their practice.

Mr. Malthus expresses his theory in the three following propositions :

“ 1. Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.”

“ 2. Population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase, *unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks.*”

“ 3. *These checks*, and the checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery.” Vol. I. p. 28, 29.

The exception, in the second proposition, alludes to the instance of the West-Indian negroes, and to one or two other examples—

“ where population does not keep up to the level of subsistence. But these are extreme cases; and generally speaking, it might be said : Population *always* increases where the means of subsistence increase,” &c. Vol. I. p. 29.

After an inquiry into the fruitfulness of marriages, and a dissertation concerning the effect of epidemics on registers of marriages births and deaths, comes an exposition of the erroneous notions advanced by Wallace, Condorcet, and Mr. Godwin. But as clearness and utility are the only objects of this article, its pages will contain no notice of the arguments which have been advanced against Mr. Malthus's refutation of modern philosophers. Discussions of that kind are little better than mere speculation; and almost all rational persons who may happen to wish for an elucidation of such fanciful points, will be perfectly satisfied with the reasoning of Mr. Malthus, whenever they take the trouble of comparing the answers with it.

The judicious essayist presently considers the English poor-

laws as they refer to the principle of population. These laws, without increasing the food, tend to increase the population: for with the prospect which they afford of dependent relief, a man may marry who has no means of his own to maintain a family. But—

“Hard as it may appear in individual instances, dependent poverty ought to be held disgraceful. Such a stimulus seems to be absolutely necessary to promote the happiness of the great bulk of mankind: and every general attempt to weaken this stimulus, however benevolent its intention, will always defeat its own purpose. If men be induced to marry from the mere prospect of parish-provision, they are not only unjustly tempted to bring unhappiness and dependence upon themselves and children, but they are tempted, without knowing it, to injure all in the same class with themselves.” Vol. II. p. 173.

For, as these laws do not increase the provisions, and as the provisions already existing—

“Must, in consequence of the increased population, be distributed to every man in smaller proportions, it is evident, that the labour of those who are not supported by parish-assistance, will purchase a smaller quantity than before, and consequently, more of them must be driven to apply for assistance.” Vol. II. p. 172.

“The poor-laws may, therefore, be said to diminish both the power and the will to save among the common people, and thus to weaken one of the strongest incentives to sobriety and industry, and consequently to happiness.” Vol. II. p. 174.

It is indeed strictly true, that our laws tend to “*create the poor which they maintain*,” this is Mr. Malthus’s expression, (Vol. II. p. 172,) and it is worthy to be particularly remarked, because on this tendency, and on this tendency to depress industry and good-conduct, all the practical parts of his essay hinge.

The essayist proposes, that, previously giving a precise and intelligible notice to the poor, we completely abolish this pernicious code: and advises, that those who marry after that general notice, be left to take the consequences of their own rashness. He wishes that even private relief in such cases be sparingly administered: and he declares himself to be—

“persuaded, that if the poor-laws had never existed in this coun-

“try, though there might have been a few more instances of very severe distress, the aggregate mass of happiness among the common people would have been much greater than it is at present.”
Vol. II. p. 177.

In the course of the Essay we find an estimate of the effects which increasing wealth produces on the poor: a comparison of the agricultural and commercial systems: a consideration of the policy which induces a legislature to give bounties on the exportation of corn: and an investigation of the prevailing errors respecting population and plenty. But the two points which are most frequently and urgently enforced throughout the work, are the necessity of diffusing knowledge, and the duty of encouraging the preventive check.

The chapters that follow the plan for abolishing the poor-laws, debate the modes by which the prevailing opinions on population may be corrected, examine the direction that should be given to our charity, balance the different schemes that have been proposed for ameliorating the condition of the poor, inculcate the necessity of general principles on the subject of amelioration, and observe upon our rational expectations with regard to the future improvement of society. The third edition, from which, except in one instance, all the quotations of the Essay for the present pages have been taken, contains an appendix, where Mr. Malthus liberally and ably answers some objections advanced against the former editions of his Essay.

With the exception perhaps of some proposals in regard to the abolition of the poor-laws, concerning which plan some remarks and suggestions are submitted at the conclusion of the present article, the Essay on the Principle of Population demands our highest and most ardent praise. In that invaluable work, we find an originality of genius, a grandeur and consistency of design, a depth of reflection, an extent of knowledge, a superiority to prejudice, a splendour of illustration, a firm and rational philanthropy, which entitle Mr. Malthus to

a proud distinction among political economists, to the honours of his native country, and to the gratitude of all mankind !

And now let us consider the allegations against him,---impiety, inhumanity, futility, and self-contradiction.

With all the politeness of a pugilist, who first shakes his antagonist by the hand, and then begins to belabour him, Mr. Ingram, the rector of Segrave in Leicestershire, sets out in commendation of the essay, and after having paid his compliments to Mr. Malthus's "elaborate research," and "ingenuity of disquisition," and "goodness of intention," hints, in the next sentence, at two or three qualities in the work which a little invalidate the previous praise. In short, the worthy Clergyman asserts, that Mr. Malthus has published sentiments "incongruous with the tenets of natural theology ;" likewise, "repugnant to the feelings of humanity ;" and in fine, "irreconcilable with the principles of a sound and rational policy ;" *Disquisitions*, p. 1.

But Mr. Ingram, before he enters on what he is pleased to flatter himself will prove "a systematic refutation," (p. 3), determines to take "a transient view of the Essay's general tendency," (p. 3) ; for he is of opinion, that---

"The injurious consequences of a work on a popular subject, commonly depend more on the impressions excited by its general tenour and prominent features, than on particular fallacies in the argumentative part." P. 3.

Here is a tolerably fair specimen of the Rector's general principles : and surely never was there a divine with ideas more indefinite. If the *argumentative parts* of a work are *not fallacious*, its *general tenour* is probably truth : and if truth produce *injurious consequences*, error must be beneficial, and so may Mr. Ingram's pamphlet.

The great charge of impiety is grounded on a passage, where, in arguing against Mr. Godwin, Mr. Malthus says—

"Though human institutions appear to be the obvious and obtrusive causes of much mischief to mankind, they are, in reality,

“light and superficial, in comparison with those deeper-seated causes of evil which result from the laws of nature.” Essay, Vol. II. p. 100, 101.

Mr. Ingram exclaims, that from such words we must form this conclusion :

“Surely then the condition of human existence is truly wretched ; and if such sentiments are admitted, we must cease to regard benevolence as the predominant feature of the Almighty mind.”—Disquisitions, p. 7.

If this passage is to be taken unconnected with its concomitant reasonings, it may seem to justify Mr. Ingram’s conclusion : and such a justification had the disputant, who reading in the Scripture, that “the fool hath said in his heart—*there is no God,*” quoted the assertion, without specifying it to be the assertion of “the fool,”—and made the Bible itself seem authority for atheism. The real sense of Mr. Malthus’s dreadfully heterodox words, will be intelligible enough to any man, who reads them with that reference to the attendant reasonings, which is the only fair way of reading. The passage means merely, what every legislator has told us for these two thousand years : it means, that the best possible laws cannot place a complete restraint upon the passions of man, nor remedy all the mischiefs that naturally happen by the want of such restraint. From Mr. Ingram’s horrors, one would think it some new heresy to have declared, that nature pours forth, together with good, a certain quantity of evil which man must strive to overcome. Till Mr. Malthus’s book was written, every body, we must needs believe, had been peacefully dreaming that the world, in its present state, is the same region of unmingled good which Paradise is described to have been before the fall!--What then ! (say the adversaries of Mr. Malthus,) has Providence afflicted us with evil that no power of our own can avert or heal?—Certainly not : Providence has given the preservative together with the disease ; but the *deeply-seated evils of nature* are not to be cured by any *human institution* : they are to be prevented by those no less *deeply-seated principles of*

good which nature has also fixed within us : our own habits of rational thought and of virtue, those habits which Mr. Malthus is so zealous to promote, must lead us to our happiness, not the mere institutions of government. What is wanting to the savages whose condition was just now lamented ? A greater degree of rational thought and virtue. If they could be taught to see the common advantage of a more civilized and moral state,---if they could but be furnished with a small degree of plain useful knowledge, they might at least be induced to think agriculture a better employment than war, and sacrifice their luxuries of casual surfeit and sloth for the ease of a secure subsistence. Do their miseries, or those that scourge society in a less barbarous stage, result from the detestable oppression of any government ?---or can they be called the wretchedness inseparably interwoven with human existence by the Almighty ? No : they are neither more nor less than *the deeply-seated causes of evil, which result from the laws of nature*, and which nature has given us the power to remove. Such a power indeed does not exist within the breast of each individual ; but, as Mr. Malthus urges, it is the duty of those, who are more enlightened, to increase the information and comforts of their less fortunate neighbours : for in this, as in almost every other respect, man is a dependent being, and flourishes but by the aid of his fellow-creatures. Such considerations should encourage and invigorate our philanthropy : as individuals, and as members of a community, we should keep these duties constantly before our eyes, and ardently pursue our inquiries for the most rapid and convenient methods of assisting civilization to extend itself among our kindred-beings.

After all, then, what is the crime of the passage in question ? Why, the crime of teaching, that man must govern his passions, and that, if he do not, no human institutions will prevent evil consequences, however those consequences may in a few instances be alleviated.

The fact is, that the writers against Mr. Malthus have over-

looked all distinction between the *habits* of mankind, and their *institutions*. Mr. Malthus admits, that much evil arises from *imperfections in government* (which are but particular modes of vice and misery), but maintains, that more evil still proceeds from *nature*, that is to say, from *imperfections in ourselves*: and when he asserts, that no alteration in our *institutions* would annihilate the evil with which nature has thought fit to correct, to caution, and to try us, he is accused of having asserted, that evil could not be prevented by any alteration in our *habits*. If such were really his assertion, there might be something like a ground for charging him with a want of piety: though, at any rate, the ground would be a very unsafe one, unless the assertions could be proved false. For if any man, with truth on his side, should affirm that our Creator had inflicted upon us evil, unavoidable and incurable, which we must suppose would not have been decreed but for some wise purpose, surely there could be but little hesitation in deciding which were the more impious reasoner: he, who should promulgate the laws of Heaven, confiding that the Divine system, however unaccountable to human reason, must be a frame of perfect wisdom—or he, who should dread that the statement of God's ordinances might redound to the dishonour of God!

Having argued with little success from Nature, Mr. Ingram resorts to the authority of Revelation. He observes, that—

“ Christ says, or virtually says, ‘ Feed the hungry, clothe the naked, take the stranger in.’ Some particular persons he directed to sell what they had, and give to the poor; and respectful mention is made of one who gave half his goods to the poor.” P. 71.

But when Christ directed his early disciples to bestow their goods upon the poor, he did not direct them to do what the English code has done, to create new, and perpetually increasing poor, on purpose to bestow goods upon them. Besides, the ordinances that applied in the first period of Christianity, by no means continue to be all applicable now. The general practice

of this very injunction would be as little expedient in modern Europe, as the dissuasives from marriage would in a new colony. Though it was much to be desired, that at first a few individual teachers should give their goods to the poor, and abstract themselves from all worldly considerations, yet, in our days, what sort of society would that be, where every body should be giving his goods away, and going up and down to preach? But, at any rate, since the seventh chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians contains a direct dissuasive from marriage, which may be quite as fairly applied to ourselves as the other injunction,—what will become of Mr. Ingram's opinions, when the question is rested upon texts?

In the impeachment for inhumanity, Dr. Jarrold seems to be the most inveterate of Mr. Malthus's prosecutors. The Doctor's sympathies are sadly shocked by a passage in which Mr. Malthus, who has just before been exposing the impolicy of such poor-laws as ours, proceeds to the following illustration:—

“ If a child is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot
 “ get subsistence from his parents on whom he has a just demand,
 “ and if the society do not want his labour, he has no claim of right
 “ to the smallest portion of food, and in fact has no business to be
 “ where he is. At nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover
 “ for him; she tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her
 “ own orders, if he do not work on the compassion of some of her
 “ guests: if these guests get up and make room for him, other in-
 “ truders immediately appear, demanding the same favour. The
 “ report of a provision for all that come, fills the hall with numerous
 “ claimants: the order and harmony of the feast is disturbed, and
 “ plenty, that before reigned, is changed into scarcity; and the
 “ happiness of the guests is destroyed by the spectacle of misery
 “ and dependence in every part of the hall, and by the clamorous
 “ importunity of those who are justly enraged at not finding the
 “ provision which they had been taught to expect. The guests learn
 “ too late their error in counteracting those strict orders to all intru-
 “ ders issued by the great mistress of the feast, who wishing that all
 “ her guests should have plenty, and knowing that she could not
 “ provide for unlimited numbers, humanely refused to admit fresh
 “ comers when her table was already full.” *Essay*, p. 531, 2d
 edition.

These words are quoted from the quarto, for they are not printed in the third edition, which was published sixteen or eighteen months ago. Probably, as benevolence seems to have been Mr. Malthus's great impulse, he thought it advisable to omit any passage which, by exciting prejudice and violence, was likely to impede important objects. Mr. Malthus has evinced his modesty in bowing to the opinions of the vulgar: and the vulgar have received a compliment at the expence of their understandings. But as the persons who have written against him, in newspapers, or in magazines, or in regular volumes, have almost all continued to attack the obnoxious passage just as ardently as if it were still retained, and are determined that it shall be kept alive, though it offends themselves,—some notice of it becomes absolutely necessary, lest people who have never read it with the context, may fancy that its arguments, which are, in reality, so convincing and so strongly illustrative of important truth, contain some doctrine which is shockingly unjustifiable.

At nature's mighty feast, answers Dr. Jarrold,—

“There is no distinction: all that are invited, are at liberty to partake, and the life of a guest is sacred: to be invited to the same table implies equality, and to possess life, is to possess the invitation.” *Dissertations*, P. 21, 22.

No indeed, this is not to possess the invitation. To possess a ticket is to possess an invitation to a table; and such a ticket cannot belong to any one, unless it have been either purchased by him, or given to him. At nature's feast either our own exertions, or the exertions of our parents or friends, must furnish us, or must have already provided us, whether in our mature age or in our infancy, with those tickets which alone are admissible, namely, the exchangeable produce of labour. But when an individual thus possesses a regular invitation, it is only an invitation for himself: there, of course, is good room for him, or he could not have procured his ticket: but certainly he has no right to bring with him strangers, for whom he has not been able to get any tickets at all.

The anonymous Letter-writer is constantly touching upon this illustration, and, by a thousand invidious expressions, endeavouring to foment hostilities between the *rights of the rich* and the *claims of the poor*. This attempt to enlist justice in an evil cause, is as unsuccessful as might have been expected. The rights of the rich, which are attacked as so cruel an oppression, are nothing more than the right which every man has to dispose as he pleases of the property he has acquired; and the perpetually pleaded claims of the poor, are simply the claim that every man has to be paid, as well for the labour which is demanded of him, as for any other commodity that he sells. But if the market be overstocked with labour, or any other commodity, the ordinary purchasers are not to be blamed because the article becomes so cheap as not to bear the expences of bringing itself to sale. It would be very hard that a man should be obliged to employ useless labourers, and pay for what he did not want. So much for the claim, that a man, when his labour is not wanted, can plead as to a maintenance even for himself; and really to say, that he can in justice claim a maintenance for any family he may choose to beget, is only to assert in other words, that every person who wants self-denial to check his passions, or who has not exerted industry enough to obtain the means of gratifying them at his own expence, must be permitted to gratify them at the expence of his neighbours.

The Doctor says—

“It may be asked, has all the fruit been gathered? Is it not possible to provide another cover, and to lengthen the table?”
P. 22.

As long as that can be done, neither Mr. Malthus, nor any other man of common sense, will propose the exclusion of applicants!---But the objection is, that the enlargement of the feast is much more easily proposed than effected. If there be provisions for only a body of ten millions, which body assem-

bles, and is shortly joined by a body of ten millions more, either the first body, or the second body, or a portion of both, obviously must perish from absolute want. Now, if this be the case, which measure is most just, and likely to produce least misery,---the sacrifice of the latest comers, or that of the original possessors, or that of some occupants from both bodies? Surely the latest comers should be sacrificed; for in that case, men might be deterred from introducing new consumers; whereas, if we should sacrifice the prior possessors, or any of them, human beings would be always introducing more human beings, who might have at least as good a chance as the earlier occupants. However, it will be remembered, that Mr. Malthus never proposed to give a retrospective effect to the prohibition that he recommends; for, while he wishes to prevent the creation of future indigence, he is strenuous in advising the relief of the indigence that already exists.

Having gone through the accusations of impiety and inhumanity, we are next to enquire into the futility of Mr. Malthus's work. To prove the fallacy of all that able writer's principles, and overthrow all his conclusions by other statements, the Reverend Mr. Ingram most ardently toils. Perhaps the shrewd reader may conjecture with what success.

“I trust” (says this mistaken Clergyman) “I shall make the very reverse of these statements appear to be the truth; viz. that we have no occasion for ‘every possible help that we can get to counteract the tendency to early marriages;’ (Essay Vol. II. p. 131;) that the prevailing opinions or principles of action, in lieu of encouraging marriage too much, have a very contrary effect,” &c. *Disquisitions*, p. 7.

When Mr Malthus urges the expediency of counteracting the tendency to early marriages, he speaks only of those marriages which are contracted without a power of supporting the offspring they are likely to produce: for in his chapter “Of the modes of correcting the prevailing opinions on population,” he expressly says—

“All that society can reasonably require of its members, is that they should not have families without being able to support them.” *Essay*, Vol. II. p. 414.

though, from Mr. Ingram's garbled extracts, some persons would be induced to think Mr. Malthus inveterate against early marriages under any circumstances.

Mr. Ingram continues:—

“I shall further endeavour to shew, that if vice is calculated to overwhelm even a thinly inhabited community with a large portion of misery; virtue, on the other hand, might enable the same territory to maintain an abundant population with ease and happiness. This, then, is a principal fallacy in Mr. Malthus's argumentation. His category is incomplete. Moral restraint, vice, and misery, are not the only efficient causes in adjusting population and the means of subsistence. Virtue and intelligence have a very powerful influence in preventing or alleviating the misery which originates in vice, or any causes connected with population, by other means than, simply, as a restraint on the powers of generation. So that in proportion as any community is rendered more virtuous and enlightened, there may be a smaller share of actual restraint on the principle of population, or the propensity to contract early marriages, and, at the same time, a diminution of human misery.” P. 7, 8.

Now there is a mistake in this statement of Mr. Malthus's “category:” for he never asserted that moral restraint, vice, and misery, are “the only efficient causes, in *adjusting population and the means of subsistence*.” his position is, that moral restraint, vice, and misery are the only causes in *checking* population. Nobody will deny, that in such an adjustment as Mr. Ingram speaks of, much assistance may be given by economy, and by charity, and by prudence, and probably, indeed, by every other kind of “*virtue and intelligence*.”

But from the question of adjusting a population to the level of the provisions, the Rector proceeds to the question of supporting fresh existences: and there is something almost ludicrous in his ideas upon this subject. Notwithstanding his antipathy to that excellent preventive check denominated moral restraint, he is strenuous in praising virtue and intelligence, which are its near

relations and staunch abettors: and he is even obliging enough to ascribe to them infinitely greater power than they really possess: for he tells us that any community, the more it possesses of these blessings, may enjoy the more marriages early contracted, and maintain the greater population, and all without inconvenience. In the name of common-sense, let us ask, what virtue or intelligence will be able to increase population, when the soil shall have produced the greatest possible subsistence! Mr. Malthus ascribes much to virtue and intelligence: indeed they are indispensable to the production of comfortable subsistence in the greatest possible quantity: but it is hard indeed, to blame him for not imputing to them a faculty of performing impossibilities. The way in which virtue and intelligence, and all other good principles, operate beneficially to man, is by bending his passions without pain to the dispensations of nature, not by bending the dispensations of nature to his passions. We deceive our fellow-creatures, if we encourage them in the hope which Mr. Ingram holds out: there never can be a state of society such as he speaks of, in which men may continue diminishing the checks upon marriage to infinitude, consistently, or even inconsistently, with each other's comfort.

However, Mr. Malthus must always find it difficult to defend himself from the charge of futile speculation, when he has to contend with writers who make up their minds to the expectation of miracles. Dr. Jarrold, though he says that "the world is governed by fixed laws," and that "no miracle is expected," obviously thinks that a miracle is not at all unlikely: for he says,

"When its" (the world's), "population was increasing faster, than
"was consistent with the happiness of man, life was shortened, and
"is now no longer than the duties connected with it require, and
"consequently will not be again reduced. This is one pledge
"which ought to inspire the greatest confidence, and is alone suffi-
"cient to satisfy most of my readers, that the population of the
"earth will never be suffered to increase beyond the means of sub-
"sistence."—*Dissertations*, p. 247.

Mr. Ingram imitates this logic, and indeed improves upon it:—

“As in the earlier ages of the world, it pleased God to extend the period of mortal existence to 900 or 1000 years, that the globe might be speedily replenished with inhabitants; so, in a fully peopled kingdom, the constitutions of individuals may be rendered less prolific.” *Disquisitions*, p. 39.

Yes, and manna may be rained upon the earth, or ravens deputed to feed us; but few hungry families will be much consoled by reflecting on their chance for such relief. However hunger is a matter of small importance with Mr. Ingram, who says:—

“It seems as if Mr. Malthus regarded the distress, which is sometimes experienced by large families amongst the lower classes, as that species of misery which is the most deplorable of any to which human nature is exposed, and which therefore should be most cautiously prevented, rather than alleviated, by the aid of political institutions. Now, surely, the sufferings which are not unfrequently the result of repletion and vice in those who are in more easy circumstances, are greater than any that are commonly felt by the families of the poor in this country: and many more lives are shortened by them than by extreme poverty.” *Disquisitions*, p. 9, 10.

A helpless family enduring the pangs of hunger, is not then among the fittest objects for our compassion: we learn from this worthy Rector, who probably speaks from experience, that the round epicure, heaving with the indigestion of yesterday's turtle, is the sufferer who best deserves our sympathy. Plum-puddings are misery's engines, and venison is the scourge of human nature. We are imperiously called upon by every good principle to mingle our mournings with the hiccups of the college-proctors; the carbuncled nose of an alderman is an unanswerable appeal to our sensibility; and pity, in her tenderest form, shall wave her pinions over the table of a visitation-feast!

Dr. Jarrold does not seem to think that in a more improved

state of human nature, checks will be needed, whether of famine, or of *repletion*: nor indeed any perceptible checks at all. He believes that the mere exercise of our intellectual powers will insensibly dry up the sources of fecundity to the requisite degree. For he says,

“As the faculties of the mind are unemployed, as the man sinks down towards the animal, he is prolific: as he ascends above them (above other animals, probably Dr. Jarrold means), his fruitfulness decreases.” *Dissertations*, p. 250.

After enlarging upon this theory, he writes thus:—

“It has already been observed, that any powerful and long-continued exercise of the mind that inflames the passions, or that in any way subjects the body to the mind, occasions barrenness, as is particularly exemplified in prostitutes; but in the most honourable exercises of the mind the body also suffers.” *Dissertations*, p. 297, 298.

The mental exhaustion of prostitutes, and that of all persons who exert their faculties for the livelihood of themselves or of their dependent connexions, may be easily resolved into vice or misery. But certainly fecundity may be insensibly diminished by other mental causes, causes which are by no means actual checks upon population itself, but which (though they act rather upon persons who form an exception to the ordinary course of human nature than upon human nature in general) we may describe as being principles inherent in man's constitution, and calculated, in a certain degree, to neutralize the *principle of population*: for instance, particular individuals, with weak passions and diligent minds, may be as completely chilled in their sexual faculties by intellectual operations, as those persons are who labour under physical incapacity. But, even according to this theory, the mass of a people, however enlightened that people be, can never become so intellectual as to lose its tendency toward excessive population, unless bodily labour shall become unnecessary, and talent shall be everybody's birth-right. So that, indeed, any plan for oppos-

ing an imperceptibly intellectual impediment to the propagation of the poor, seems but too likely to share the unhappy fate of those ingenious speculations, by which the Laputan philosophers expected to draw sun-beams out of cucumbers.

Upon such passages as the foregoing, Mr. Malthus, if he were disposed to argue with Dr. Jarrold as the Doctor argues with him, might not unfairly exclaim: "Now, Doctor, you are caught tripping! Your book is written to prove how earnestly we ought to discourage every thing that limits human increase; but you conceive that 'honourable exercises of the mind' limit human increase: therefore, you must believe that such exercises ought to be discouraged, and ignorance and brutality will of course be your favourite agents in a state. In the same way, Doctor, I might employ your own words against you when you say,"—

"A government that, for a succession of years, pays the strictest attention to the improvement of the people, and as far as possible suppresses vice and banishes misery, would find that its population required not the sword to thin it. Like the Athenians in the best days of their republic, or like the best-informed classes of subjects in the modern states of Europe, more care would be requisite to guard against a decrease than to prevent the contrary." Dissertations, p. 311.

"What does this argue, Doctor? Why," Mr. Malthus might continue, "it argues that your great good, the increase of population, is endangered by the suppression of vice and the banishment of misery. Of course then you must be as anxious to keep vice and misery in play as you suppose me to be."

So much for Mr. Malthus's futility. In the last place, let us consider the charge of self-contradiction, which is bolstered by curious statements indeed. One specimen shall serve. It is triumphantly said, that Mr. Malthus sometimes "argues against raising the price of labour, because it would give the poor no greater command over the provisions than before,"—(Reply, p. 327, 328); and that yet, in a scarce year, he objects to raising that price, "as if it would enable them to devour every thing before them."—Reply, p. 328

Now what inconsistency is there in this? It is very certain, that any advances in the money-price of labour, since they must always be followed by proportionate advances in the price of provisions, do not permanently give the poor a greater command over the provisions than before, and therefore are of no effect as a permanent system; but, on the other hand, we may be equally certain, that, as some interval must elapse between the rise in the price of labour and the consequent rise in the price of provisions, an advance in the money-price of labour does give the poor a very great temporary command over the provisions. Such a command in a scarce year must be followed by irreparable damage, and the interval, if it be only two months, will be sufficient for doing irreparable damage. The poor find they can buy corn, and of course they do buy it: they are little able to calculate upon that necessary progress of things which must make the very abundance of to-day the cause of to-morrow's want. To be sure, if a bushel of corn were set in a poor man's cottage, and all hope removed of further supply, he would easily perceive that the more he ate at first, the less he could have at last; but the proportionally limited magazines of a whole country are neither before his eyes nor within his comprehension: he finds that money will feed him one day, and he does not see why money should not feed him another. The consequence must be, not only a scarcity, but an irremediable famine.

The merit of discovering a self-contradiction, in this instance, belongs to Mr. Cobbett's before-mentioned correspondent, who seems to be a pert, brisk young gentleman enough. He does not give us his name: and this abstinence might be imputed to modesty, if, throughout his volume consisting of five letters, and a commentary on the Essay, there were not so many strong evidences of his total disregard to that troublesome virtue. He is so fond of joking, that perhaps, if the truth were known, his opposition to Mr. Malthus is only a joke. If so, the fancy

is not ill-executed : for the letters are very pretty burlesque parodies on the ordinary publications against the *Essay* and the arguments are generally amusing, however insignificant. Of Mr. Malthus's originality, there are many impeachments, ingeniously contrived to demonstrate, past all doubt, that Mr. Malthus did not invent the facts that he reasons from, (which method of seeking a reputation would at least have the merit of novelty,) but created only the reasonings themselves. And in imitation of the vigorous mistatements with which other writers have so thickly crowded their attacks on Mr. Malthus, there is a series of examples, shewing how you can make a man say something that he never did say, in order that you may get an opportunity of blaming him for having said it.

Toward the end of his last letter, the anonymous wag is gayer than ever. The reader is relieved from speculations upon marriages, mortalities, and metaphysics, by allusions to "sweet girls, whose smile is Elysium;" to cocked-hats, feathers, coronets, enchantment, and love! Our author might here have gained himself a very flourishing reputation for gallantry, if he had not made bold to attack the ladies' dresses. On that great question, the comparative nudity of present and past periods, it might be presumptuous in a Reviewer to decide; this kind of plea is without the jurisdiction of us dull fellows, who are not supposed to have ever ventured even an internal speculation upon such tempting trifles. There seems a natural antipathy between criticism and crape; precision does not consort with petticoats, nor is frigidity congenial with flirting. Ladies are thought to adore a poet, but they were never thought to adore a reviewer: your reviewer is altogether too crabbed for them. Under these melancholy circumstances, the wit's opinions on female dress must be referred, by our hapless tribe, to the decision of more competent judges.

But how much must our unblest race feel beholden to this

obliging writer, when he presents a description of love which conveys a sweet idea even to our sluggish conceptions ! This is, indeed, a description in all respects calculated to confer popularity on its author : because while it displays his talents for a flowery and poetical style, it evinces the amiable ingenuousness of a mind which frankly treats the whole public as a confident. Gentles, mark the words :—

“ I never fell in love but once ; and then it was with a girl who
“ always wore her handkerchief pinned tight round her neck, with
“ a fair face, gentle eyes, a soft smile, and cool auburn locks. I
“ mention this, because it may in some measure account for my
“ temperate, tractable notions of this passion, compared with
“ Mr. Malthus's. It was not a raging heat, a fever in the
“ veins : but it was like a vision, a dream, like thoughts of child-
“ hood, an everlasting hope, a distant joy, a heaven, a world
“ that might be. The dream is still left, and sometimes comes
“ confusedly over me, in solitude and silence, and mingles with
“ the softness of the sky, and veils my eyes from mortal grossness.”
—Reply, p. 231, 232.

As the reader has probably by this time acquired a tolerably correct notion of the course by which Mr. Malthus's adversaries set about the proof of his impiety, and inhumanity, and futility, and self-contradiction, it may now be expedient to enquire whether principles, so little vulnerable in theory, would be sound in practice.

Mr. Ingram, as we have seen above, believes that—

“ This country, so far from being over-peopled, might support
“ a much more considerable population, with more real comfort
“ and enjoyment than is at present generally experienced.”---
Disquisitions, p. 7.

Mr. Malthus does not deny that Great Britain may hereafter support a more numerous population : he contends only against trying to make the population more numerous before she can support it. He is as anxious as Mr. Ingram that the number of our countrymen may be increased, but does not advise us to begin at the wrong end, by bringing people into the world first, and leaving them to take their chance of a sub-

sistence afterwards. An increased number of lives is to be kept up only by an increased quantity of provisions; but an increase of provisions cannot be, with justice, effected compulsorily—and voluntarily it never will be effected, unless the farmers can be reimbursed for effecting it. Now they are likely to be reimbursed by an augmented population, born from those members of society whom industry has furnished with the means of providing for their own children: and a population thus augmented is what every body wishes to behold. But there is no probability that farmers will ever be paid from the procreation of children who have no such mode of subsistence: for as to the scheme of supporting people according to the statute 43 Eliz. which, in a certain clause, directs the parish to provide the poor with employment as fast as they multiply, that method clearly can never increase the means of compensating the farmers. This axiom may be proved by the following arguments:—The reward of labour, which reward is principally expended in the employment of the labourer, must always be the great fund for reimbursing those who are employed in the production of food: and *unless the general sum assigned to the reward of labour be increased*, the fund for the payment of agriculture is not likely to be enlarged, and of course there will be no means of engaging the farmer to make any augmentation in the supply of subsistence. But how is this important increase in the general sum assigned to the reward of labour, effected by the statute 43 Eliz.? That statute, indeed, would fain distribute increasing employment to increasing numbers, but never provides the mode in which the proportionate reward of the increasing employment is to be produced. The only mode of increasing the rewards of labour, is to increase the demand for it: without an increase of demand for labour, employment will never be much augmented, because the augmented quota of labour occupied in that employment cannot be rewarded; and it is quite clear, that neither labour nor any other commo-

dity will ever be permanently furnished at a loss. Since, then, no more labour can be paid than there is a demand for, it follows that, by forcing any of the employment out of the open stock, into the hands of improvident parents or their incumbering progeny, we diminish the funds from which the better regulated inhabitants must qualify themselves for the expences of a family. We do not augment the quantity of employment: we do but drain it out of a wholesome reservoir into a putrid one. The quantity of employment then not being really augmented, and there being, of course, no augmentation in the general sum assigned to the reward of labour, is it not indisputable that this statute does nothing for the compensation of agricultural expenditure? Indeed, as Mr. Malthus observes—

“The due execution of this clause, in the 43d Eliz. as a permanent law, is a physical impossibility. It will be said, perhaps, that the fact contradicts the theory, and that the clause in question has remained in force, and has been executed during the last two hundred years. In answer to this, I should say, without hesitation, that it has not really been executed; and that it is merely owing to its incomplete execution that it remains on our statute book at present.” *Essay*, Vol. II. 181.

One reason why it has never been attempted to make the execution of these laws more complete, is stated with great probability, by Mr. Malthus, to be the objection of landlords to encouraging cottages, which may breed incumbrances to the parish. He says—

“In some places, this want of habitations operates too strongly in preventing marriage. But I have not the least doubt that, considered generally, its operation in the present state of things is most beneficial,” &c. “If any man could build a hovel by the road-side, or on the neighbouring waste, without molestation, and yet were secure that he and his family would always be supplied with work and food by the parish, if they were not readily to be obtained elsewhere, I do not believe that it would be long before the physical impossibility of executing the poor-laws would appear.” *Appendix to the Essay*, Vol. II. 540.

He is of opinion that—though the obvious tendency of these

laws is to further marriage—and though they clearly contribute to encourage idleness and the desertion of children, to discourage sobriety and economy, and to put vice and virtue too nearly on a level—yet it is matter of doubt how far the code does actually promote population. Certainly the exact quantity of human lives that are produced by this cause, cannot be very easily determined: and, from the reasoning just now advanced, on the subject of the 43d Eliz. it seems clear, that, if only those were supported *who should give back in their labour the value of their support*, there would be no increase of population, because, as there would be no enlargement of the general sum assigned to the reward of labour, there could be no enlargement of the funds for the compensation of agricultural expenditure in the augmentation of subsistence. So far, the objection is only to the undue distribution of the society's employment, and to the consequent depression of industry in favour of idleness. But the addition of a relief, granted *without a return of labour*, not only continues all this mischief, but engenders much more: for thus, while the already-existing population is still influenced by the unjust distribution of employment, a fresh population is created, for whom there is no employment at all: and the increase of this fresh population, however at present prevented by external causes from advancing so rapidly as would be possible, is likely, nevertheless, to go on advancing interminably. For though the quantity of employment that would be furnished to the poor might be the limit of their increase while employment was the inseparable condition of relief, yet, if relief continues to be gratuitously bestowed, nothing will put a stop to the increase of the population, till the very sources of that relief are drained. How fast we are hurrying to this deplorable exhaustion, is demonstrated by that rapidly progressive augmentation which, even notwithstanding the vast increase of private charities, our poor-rates have been making for some years past.

It may be urged, that the intention of the statute 43 Eliz. was to provide gratuitous relief only for those of the poor who could not work; and that any other dispensation is in reality an abuse. But long custom, which in this country has always been held equivalent to written law, has now confirmed every labourer in the belief that, whether there be employment or not, he has a right to the relief of the parish, and is even serving his country in furnishing her with fresh subjects. It is time, by abolishing the code, to put an end to such misconceptions. By the distribution of relief without employment, it must be owned that the funds for compensating agricultural expenditure are increased; but that the increase effected by such means can be beneficial to a state, remains to be proved by those vehement promoters of population, who think that the progressive encouragement of idleness and vice, at the expence of industry and virtue, is not too high a price for an augmented quantity of human life.

Mr. Ingram, in his eagerness for multiplying Englishmen at any rate, seems even to forget that Englishmen, whatever may be their other advantages over their neighbours, have no faculty of living without food. The only rational plan of usefully and permanently effecting the increase that he wishes in our population, is to diffuse prudential restraint, which, in general, must be naturally associated with industry, and to promote these by every possible encouragement; because the stores, that restraint and industry accumulate for the moderate and industrious, increase the general power to purchase, and, consequently, increase the general demand for labour. By increasing the demand for labour, they increase, of course, the general sum of the reward bestowed on labour: and by increasing this sum of reward, they increase the funds for the cultivation of food. When once these funds are increased, population may be augmented with safety, and will always naturally augment itself.—These are advantages that may continue to

operate, until the country shall have produced the greatest population that can be wished : whereas, Mr. Ingram's plan, of at all events generating existence, directly discourages the industry and restraint which might do so much toward his own desires, and tends, by creating a crowded and transitory population in the present period, to dry up the progressive increase of the periods that are to come. The objects, that he longs for, can be attained but like the golden eggs of the magic hen in the fable, by long process of time : and when he greedily endeavours to extract all by one operation, he cuts off the possibility of future benefit, and murders his own favourite hope.

But nothing can quiet his horror of the "dissuasives from early marriages, or other measures which are advised by Mr. M." *Disquisitions*, p. 31.

He thinks that if these be allowed to operate, young men will grow less industrious and careful than before.

"Conceiving that they had now no other motive for labour than their own maintenance, they would live more at their ease. If in four days they could earn sufficient for their support, and to buy as much liquor as they wished to have, they would be idle the remainder of the week," &c. &c. "Labour would become irksome to them, and they would prefer gaining a scanty maintenance with two days' labour, before working three days to live in greater affluence. Wages, therefore, must still advance, and foreign labourers would be allured to settle amongst us." *Disquisitions*, p. 32, 33.

Certainly, if, violent measures were employed to discourage matrimony, there might be some grounds for such apprehension, but it really seems rather unfounded, when the only dissuasive recommended by Mr. Malthus, is such instruction and notice to the poor as may render abstinence from marriage an act of each person's good sense. In order to account for Mr. Ingram's fear, we must suppose that the individual's reason is strong enough to shew him the distant consequences of a rash indulgence in his matrimonial views : and to make him set aside the thousand blessings of virtuous love,

respectability, and domestic comfort, until he can complete as much stock as, in conjunction with the probable income of future bodily labour, will place him above dependence—but that this same individual's reason is not strong enough to shew him the folly of dissipating, in idleness and inebriety, the very money that he should save for his long-desired establishment. And will the reasoning power that can check the most ardent impulse of our nature, be unable to overbalance the dead weight of idleness? Will intelligence cherish the principle of population by a seasonable and kind repression, and yet, by the toleration of drunkenness and indolence, connive at the destruction of that darling principle?

Besides, even if this idleness and debauchery were really of necessary occurrence among all persons who should continue single, at any rate there would not follow, on this account, that reduction of inhabitants which is the great object of Mr. Ingram's dread. The reduction would be prevented by the advantages which the prevalent disposition of great numbers to celibacy must needs afford to the matrimonial inclinations of the rest. The single men, at their death, would not leave a progeny behind them to fill their space in society: and that space must of course be left open to families, who, finding the means of subsistence facilitated by the fewness of competitors, and consequent preciousness of labour, would immediately furnish the state with fresh lives, to supply the vacancies. There is no point more clearly proved, than this constant influx of life wherever a subsistence can be easily procured.

In the same timorous mood, the Rector of Segrave is induced to dread that the operation of Mr. Malthus's dissuasives will greatly depress the proportion that agriculture bears to commerce, and thus diminish the comforts of the people at large. That any depression must occur, seems by no means clear; at all events, no reason appears why agriculture should

be more depressed than commerce;—and while commerce in general, and that great agricultural pursuit, the production of vegetable food for man, continue to bear the same relative proportion to each other, the diminution in the value of labour can be but nominal. But the diminution that permanently deteriorates the condition of the poor, is not a merely nominal, but a real diminution; and the advance, of course, which alone can ameliorate that condition, must be a real advance. Now, nothing so greatly promotes this genuine amelioration as a proper adjustment of the population to the food: for labour, when it overstocks the market, undergoes, like all other commodities, a real as well as nominal depreciation:—and, as the labouring classes every where constitute the great body, the depreciation of labour is a long stride toward the depression of a country. The outward signs of prosperity may be more numerous than ever, by such undue cheapness of labour as exorbitant population occasions: but the real happiness of the state must be reduced. To prevent this reduction, there is no method more eligible than the encouragement of that restraint which, as was before shewn, almost invariably brings industry and comfort in its train.

Mr. Ingram entertains alarm even in retrospect. He seems to think, that if the population of Great Britain had been actually adjusted according to Mr. Malthus's principles—"we should, long ere this, have been reduced to an insignificant appendage upon France." *Disquisitions*, p. 12.

But let, it be observed, that a very great proportion of men able to bear arms is not necessarily found in those states where the number of births is very great, nor even in those which possess a great population; but invariably exists in those whose population includes a great proportion of adults. From an unobjectionable calculation of M. Muret, we find that, at Leyzin on the Alps, when that calculation was made, the births, from the unusually powerful operation of

preventive checks, were only about a forty-ninth part of the population, and the number of persons above sixteen, who may fairly be considered as adults capable of bearing arms, was, to the number below that age, nearly as three to one. Nor does the population of this district appear to have evinced the slightest symptom of decline. In great cities, on the contrary, which, by the crowding of their inhabitants, resemble over-peopled states, and in which there is necessarily a constant and powerful action of almost all the evils that the preventive check is calculated to obviate, the proportion of the adults to the births is lamentably small: in London, nearly half the born die under three years of age, and, in Stockholm, and in Vienna, under two. These instances shew how little we should be justified in drawing our inferences of any state's military numbers, from the mere numbers of its births, or even of its population. Leyzin, to be sure, is in a remarkably healthy situation: and so great a proportion of adults, as that district contains, cannot reasonably be expected in any country, on an average of villages with towns, because towns are always less favourable to life than villages; but, if the general prevalence of the preventive check, by affording room for existence to expand and reach its maturity, can produce any approximation to this proportion, nobody will doubt that a comparatively small population, in which salutary checks prevail, may be quite equal, in military strength, to a much larger population having no such checks to prune and invigorate its growth.

Nor do the advantages of that population, which is adjusted by the preventive check, consist in military strength alone; but in the quantity of general happiness. Mr. Malthus's opponents seem to fancy, that, as life is a blessing, the sum of happiness is augmented exactly in proportion to the number of lives produced, however rapidly these lives be cut off. But the truth is, that the sum of happiness—even in the low-

est point of view, which is the quantity of existence—depends upon the probability of life's duration : which probability has been irrefragably proved to be always greatest where the preventive check operates the most extensively. Thus, in Norway, even according to the statement of Dr. Jarrold, a man's life is worth forty-eight years, but in Holland, only twenty-three : and surely, even estimating the sum of happiness merely by the sum of existence, we want but little arithmetic to find out, that two lives in Norway, which on an average comprehend ninety-six years, produce a greater general sum of happiness than four lives in Holland, which comprehend but ninety-two years. Now, even if a dozen Hollanders could be produced instead of the four, nothing would be gained : for, since the country already supports as much existence as it can maintain in its present condition, the probability of life's duration must be diminished by such an increase, and become seven years and two-thirds, instead of twenty-three. So that we should want the ages of all our twelve Hollanders to make up the ninety-two years which before were made up by the four persons : and still we should be as much below the Norwegians as ever in the quantity of human existence, to say nothing about the probable enjoyment of that existence. The principle will be equally applicable to every nation : though the differences between the respective probabilities of life's duration are not so striking, in some of the countries that might be instanced.

We may even go a little further, and assure ourselves that Great Britain should not desire to possess the greatest quantity, even of human existence, that her resources can be made to sustain. Where all are living at the lowest possible rate, none can live in comfort : nay, where the majority live on the lowest possible means, the country, whatever be the condition of the great, must be actually miserable : of which we have, at this day, an instance in the wretchedness of China. The

mischiefs of a scarcity in such nations must be, and are, active and rapid beyond description : and not only active and rapid, but absolutely incapable of alleviation, even by substitutions, or by the most painful frugality.

While the interesting subject of our own country's welfare is in discussion, there will be nothing improper in urging some further considerations, essential in the important work of augmenting the population to the greatest extent that can be made consistent with the common comforts of the lower classes : considerations which do not, indeed, embrace every detail of the topic, but which bear so materially upon the general question, that every man, who may be convinced of their fitness, must feel himself bound in duty to press them upon the public attention, as often as any opportunity can be found, or created.

It is necessary here to premise and enforce what has been frequently implied in foregoing passages of this article, that, whatever be the apparent contradiction, there is nothing really inconsistent in endeavouring, at the same time, to promote the preventive check, and to increase the population by an enlargement of resources for its subsistence. For the uses and properties of the preventive check are greatly misconceived, when any fears arise lest it should diminish the numbers which can be comfortably supported : it operates only to hinder the production of beings who cannot be maintained by just means. We have never found that population, even under the greatest influence of the preventive check, as at Leyzin and in Norway, has had the slightest tendency to decrease. To enlarge, therefore, the actually-attainable subsistence, even till we have reached the limits of the possible subsistence, ought to be our constant and our earnest care : and, in the mean time, we should encourage the preventive check. For as it discountenances marriage only among people who have no prospect of supporting matrimonial expences, and does not oppose one additional obstacle to the marriage of persons

who have made due preparation—our chief business is, to guard the slowly-increasing provisions from being *exceeded* by that influx of population which, at any rate, is always sure to *equal* them.

Let us first dispose of two or three incidental considerations, and then discuss the direct means of increasing the subsistence, and consequently the population of our country.

Emigration cannot be regarded as an increase of our own subsistence nor of our own population, and therefore strictly does not enter into the present view of the question. Some persons indeed recommend that when emigration is possible, governments shall prescribe it, in all diseases arising from superfluous numbers, and, if that specific be refused, shall shut their ears against every complaint of consequent distress. Certainly, when emigration can be fairly promoted, it is a resource not only unobjectionable, but in every point of view, whether moral or political, most devoutly to be wished. But to drive men from their country by force, as these reasoners desire, is the very consummation of injustice. It is said, that the people themselves are in fault, when they reject an advantageous opportunity of colonization for a life of celibacy, or extreme poverty at home—

“Is it a fault then,” exclaims Mr. Malthus, “for a man to feel an attachment to his native soil, to love the parents that nurtured him, his kindred, his friends, and the companions of his early years? or is it no evil that he suffers, because he consents to bear it, rather than snap these cords which nature has wound in close and intricate folds round the human heart?” *Essay*, Vol. II. p. 144.

Besides, people must naturally doubt the reality of the advantages described to them, and consider, that if misrepresentation has been practised, no opportunity will probably be given them of returning to their former condition.

As to any restraints upon employing human food for other purposes than the sustenance of man, these cannot be so properly called the increase of our supplies, as the improved application of the supplies already existing. The vast consumption

of corn, by horses kept for pleasure, by the distilleries, and by the manufactories of hair-powder and starch, gives just occasion of regret, in spite of the advantages which the country derives from stopping a part of such consumption in years of scarcity. Besides, there seem to be better modes of providing against such emergencies. But as long as there shall be an open market, which there probably must always be in every well-economized country, we shall have some difficulty in doing exactly what we wish: we may prevent distillations and other disadvantageous preparations of corn for sale; but we can hardly hinder private individuals from bestowing the grain they have fairly bought, either upon their horses, or in any other way most satisfactory to themselves. However, as much as can fairly be done, certainly ought to be done, in order to prevent the diversion of human food from the purposes of human nourishment, in any way, public or private.

The importation of food is a very precarious resource. Perhaps the immediate advantages of such a system will appear at the present crisis many and important: and the danger of excluding ourselves from a source of supply may be urged as an argument for American conciliation. Great Britain at this moment is struggling against the might of numbers infinitely greater than her own: and as the struggle seems likely to endure but too long, an accession of numerical strength must be greatly desirable to her. But the very circumstances which should render her unusually eager to increase her numbers by the importation of provisions, must also render that resource unusually doubtful. War, which drains her of lives, impedes her in procuring support for a fresh supply of life. And there is yet a further and most momentous disadvantage attached to the reliance on importation: for after a state shall, by this assistance, have augmented its numbers greatly beyond the resources of its own lands, what will be its condition at the arrival of that period when such assistance shall be withdrawn, by the gradual increase of population and consequently of consumption in the

countries whence the importation is derived?—even on the supposition, that no war, or other untoward accident, may occur so suddenly as to cut off the supply at an earlier period.—The condition of such a country will be a condition of heavy suffering and sorrow! To the level, at all events, of her own resources, must her numbers be reduced, if even there the decrease can be checked after it has once been begun: and what miseries a nation suffers during a gradual decline in her population, every man is well aware, who has the slightest acquaintance with political economy, or even history.—It must therefore become a question, whether the particular circumstances of any country can ever make it desirable for her to gain, by an artificial increase of inhabitants, a present advantage over neighbouring communities, at the risk of losing, in the end, even the rank to which her situation may have naturally entitled her.

The great, safe, and permanent methods of increasing subsistence and consequently population, appear to be two: Those improvements in agriculture, which augment the fertility of the ground already cultivated: and, Those encouragements which cause fresh lands to be brought into cultivation.

The former of these benefits is making rapid advances in our time, and appears to be promoted by the most liberal patronage.

The latter is an affair of much greater anxiety. Inclosures, in a country like this, are not so practicable as many imagine. For as most of the best lands have been already brought into cultivation, the ground that can be hereafter inclosed, will generally require an unusual quantity of dressing and of toil, and consequently produce little immediate benefit to the incloser.

Yet perhaps a great deal of waste land might be very advantageously allotted to poor cottagers. What would not be worth cultivation to a farmer, who ought to replace his stock and gain a profit beside, might be very well worth cultivation to a peasant, who expends only the work that he himself can perform at leisure times. Such allotments should not be indis-

criminally distributed as long as they last, to all who can urge the plea of want : this would be to encourage poverty, or, in other terms, to give a premium upon idleness. Perhaps there would be more propriety in granting the allotments to those among the poor, who, by their own industry and respectable conduct, had already acquired some little property. For thus, on the other hand we should be co-operating with industry : and since industry is attended with so many solid blessings as usually to be retained where she has once become an inmate, there seems every probability that this aid would be given, in general, to the persons for whom it would be not only a reward of past diligence, but an incitement to future efforts. It might not be expedient to bestow the lands solely on married people : persons in a single state, where they had equal merit, ought to be encouraged, and perhaps, equally, in order that they might have an opportunity of bettering their condition, and saving a competence for the support of future children. Nor, probably, should the allotments be in all cases hereditary.

By this system, many of the poor might be enabled to keep cows, to grow vegetables, and to furnish themselves with other comforts which at present are but too much beyond their reach. The intention of the plan is not to raise them into farmers, but to place them in a decent situation as labourers. There would be an important advantage too, in the mode of subsistence to which such a scheme must lead. The demand for wheat among the poor would no longer be exclusive, and potatoes, greens, and the coarser kinds of grain would probably be all of them introduced, according to the qualities of the lands allotted—and though there seems little reason to wish that the mass of the poor may ever live on the cheapest and worst food that will support their existence, yet as hard seasons seldom affect many different kinds of growth at once, that country will always be the most secure from scarcities, which raises the greatest *variety* of common nutriments.

In making efforts to encourage population, it is scarcely more

necessary to calculate the quantity and kind of food that we can raise, than to consider the description of consumers whom we shall produce for that food. There could be no state more advantageously economised than one where, permanently, all persons able to work should support by their own earnings the families dependent upon them: for so the habits of industry must be extensively prevalent, and the population would irrefragably prove itself not to exceed the actual means of subsistence. The people of such a country would necessarily be influenced in almost every thing by rational motives and views: they would be generally persons possessing self-denial enough to wait for the due season of gratifying their natural desires, and industry enough to receive the advantage of that season when it arrived. Every thing is likely to be beneficial, which can advance us toward such a condition. Now, among all the methods of promoting these objects, none seems more eligible than the encouragement of benefit-societies, which beget and strengthen habits of industry during youth, and health, and strength, and provide a fund to relieve the distresses consequent on age, on idleness, and on the death of those whose labour supported their connections. Associations, on this principle, might be formed, which after a certain period of contribution should provide an aid to single men desirous of marrying: the aid might increase with the period of contribution, and the quota of those who should be withheld by death, by discontinuance of subscription, or by any other cause, from calling on the fund at all, would make the system peculiarly advantageous for those who should enter into wedlock. However such societies ought not to be compulsorily promoted: for so, in a country regulated like Great-Britain, their principal effect would be to raise the nominal price of labour—the contributions should be voluntary, as at present: and lest they might become a pretext of seditious assemblies, or an accommodation for illegal combinations, it would be very desirable that, in each district, the higher classes of the community, to

whom the small sum contributed in these cases is matter of little importance, should enrol themselves as members, and attend at the yearly or half-yearly meetings which might be necessary for the management. Thus, population might be encouraged by a fund, in every particular pure and unobjectionable: which, unlike the assistance afforded under the poor-laws, would operate only to the limited extent of the contributions actually furnished by the body of the claimants. Every one of the claimants and of the contributors would perceive such a fund to be easy of exhaustion, and difficult of renewal. Every person's relief would arise, chiefly, though not directly, from his own industry,—and no man would be deceived into the now prevalent idea, that by begetting children he was making the country a valuable present, which the country was bound to receive and maintain.

In order to produce economical and provident propensities in the poor, the abolition of some predominant mischiefs would be a most important and not difficult step. The principal of these mischiefs is the abundance of alehouses and gin-shops, which now infest not only every great city, but even every petty village. Dr. Adam Smith is of opinion, that they are rather the effects than the causes of a general debauchery. But, it is too glaringly obvious that, at any rate, they reproduce the debauchery which begot them. The young are tempted to dissipate the earnings which, properly managed, might enable them to marry with comfort,—and famine and desolation are scattered through the cottages of the married. It is hardly possible to reflect without shuddering, that near us, nay, even in the midst of us, there rises so vast a dispensary of mischiefs, so potent an obstacle to all our public happiness and hopes—It is our licensed curse—it is annihilating economy, and industry, and all the social and political virtues, but it is assisting ignorance, and vice, and wretchedness of every description, to lift their crests, to increase their vassals, to extend their conquests, to strengthen their holds, and to wave

their standard with insolent impunity in the centre of civilization itself! Shall the revenue, which the government derives from these nests of evil, be urged as a reason for their continuance?—Truly a noble plea! The state is to thrive by destroying the gains, the industry, the health, and the morals of its subjects: the stores of the Exchequer must be distilled from the vitals of the poor: and gold, and silver, must be bought, though their price be the souls of mankind!

While we are exerting ourselves to increase the means of subsistence, and to establish those beneficial institutions and restraints which can be effected by the influence of the rich, or the power of the legislature, we must recollect, that all we can hope to do by any direct steps of ours, will be little in comparison of what may be performed by the people themselves. We may regulate population in a certain degree, by discouraging their vices, and offering bounties upon their virtues: but the great object should be to establish general habits, without which, institutions must always operate very partially. This can be done only by diffusing knowledge among the poor: by convincing their common sense that their interests and duties are concurrent. Instead of encouraging them to breed at any rate, we must teach them the necessity of curbing their inclinations. Some readers will laugh at the notion of explaining to ploughmen the abstract principles that support the reasonings about population: but the difficulty of explanation is not in fact what it appears. The poor man needs only to be made acquainted with these two very simple and intelligible maxims---that he must not marry till he can maintain a family, and that he ought to abstain from vicious indulgence in the mean time. We are all indeed too apt to fancy that duties are above our comprehension, which are only against our inclination: but if injunctions, so simple as these, be beyond the understanding of the commonest labourer, then there is great reason to fear that no duty can ever be understood by the mass of the people, and the boasted civilization of modern days, is no

more than an ingenious contrivance for keeping savages in order.

All knowledge that can be diffused among the lower orders, would assist in producing the good effects that we desire; would tend to check undue increase, and to promote the only increase that can be beneficial to the poor, or to the state. But since, even after all should have been done, we could hardly expect that there would be no pitiable exceptions to the general knowledge of virtue; we must consider in what way it would be best to dispose of such part of the population as might still be born unprovided with the means of subsistence. Some persons flatter themselves, that our present poor-laws answer all such purposes well enough: and conceive, that as long as the English peasantry continue to scorn parochial relief, there is no reason to apprehend that too many people will marry on the prospect of such assistance. But these disputants confound two very different things: they fancy that relief means the refuge of a workhouse: whereas, in fact, the far greater part of parochial bounty is distributed to persons who never inhabited a workhouse in their lives. Now, it is true, that the English peasantry disdain the resource of a workhouse; but, it is no less true, that they gladly accept almost every other kind of aid. Mr. Malthus tells us, that he has heard a good sort of working-man propose, by way of providing for a wife and children in the best manner, to withdraw into a distant county, and leave them on the parish:

“ If (adds that intelligent writer) the simple fact of these frequent desertions were related in some countries, a strange inference would be drawn against the English character, but the wonder would cease when our public institutions were explained.”—*Essay*, Vol. II. p. 401.

But when Mr. Malthus advises that every assistance, except that of private and parsimonious charity, be absolutely refused to all persons who, after a certain period and fair notice, shall reduce themselves to an unjustifiable indigence, whether that indigence be or be not attended with the political trespass of

producing unportioned offspring : and when he further proposes to extend this refusal to those who shall, even innocently, invade the public stock, by entering a world where no support has been provided for them,—then, though the justice of his plan is not to be denied, one may wish that, if possible, this justice may be a little softened. There ought not to be a moment's hesitation in adopting his suggestions, if between them and the miseries of excessive population there was not an alternative remaining ; but, if a measure can be devised, which will temper the hardships of his plan without destroying its advantages, surely Mr. Malthus, whose great object seems to be the benevolent one of diminishing human suffering, will be among the last from whom opposition is to be apprehended.

The absurd and impracticable scheme of the 43d Eliz. for supporting the poor, in their unlimited increase, by a constant supply of work, has been already exposed in a foregoing part of this article, and needs no further notice. Though the reader may be led to fancy, on a partial glance, that certain suggestions, in the following plan, are inconsistent with some of the great principles in the Essay ; yet, if he will take the trouble of entirely perusing these proposals, he will probably perceive that there is no such contradiction as from individual passages he might be led to suspect.

In the outset, it should be remarked, that the maintenance of the poor, if it were merely a matter which should take a fixed quantity of property, and no more, in every twelvemonth, from the stores of the rich, would be no cause of uneasiness to the country ; and any statesman, however little could be demanded on the score of right, would be ashamed to propose that a mite should be withdrawn from the contributions of charity. The imperious necessity for repealing our poor-laws is, that they tend to enlarge the drafts on our bounty in each succeeding year. Though we might agree to support a definite number of poor, even if it amounted to a tenth part of our population, we cannot justifiably encourage that tenth part, by

our premiums, to become in course of time a half, and gradually to spread upward, till it devours the whole of the middling ranks. Yet this is the process of our poor-laws. They promote the increase of the lower classes at the expence of all the other orders : they establish charity as a matter of right : and, under such circumstances, the indigent, who have already multiplied to an immense disproportion, will naturally, as long as the procreative principle possesses its present energetic properties, continue to increase with more and more rapidity. But as no corresponding supply of subsistence is provided, the increase of the lower ranks must be the diminution of the higher ; the multiplication of people living upon charity must actually elbow out the persons who have no dependence but upon their own diligence. The evil, however unobserved its advance may hitherto be, must, if allowed to continue, become every year more and more enormous, till all the funds of respectable industry shall be eaten up by idleness and incontinence. Thus it is, that the one extremity of the state, as it enlarges its vicious growth, must destroy the other,—we behold a political paradox : the community, like the circular snake of the heathen mysteries, is forcing its body into its jaws, and unnaturally hastening to swallow itself.

The great point then, is to prevent our evils from progression ; it is only by their indefinite increase that they can drive us to despair. So that, perhaps, all essential objects might be gained by something like the following system,—which, while it does not abandon to probable death the unfortunate persons, who have no means of their own for supporting life, does nevertheless hold out such discouragements to idleness and unrestrained passion, as, in every likelihood, will permanently deter all but a very small number of the thoughtless and profligate, from incumbering more moderate and careful persons. A few weeds, though they may not spread, yet, must needs spring up in spite of every care : but the English code takes the trouble of actually sowing them !

Perhaps then, considerable advantage might accrue to the country, if all paupers, whether parents or other adults, whether legitimate or illegitimate children, instead of being left to shift for themselves by accidental charity, or die of hunger, should be received by the parishes, and placed in work-houses. The scheme for supporting the expences of maintenance shall be presently stated ; but as the provision for the actual expences is an object of far less importance than the prevention of increase in the public mischiefs, let us pause, and reflect for a moment, on the principle of such an establishment. The system seems harsh, but it is not unjust. We must consider, that pauper parents have committed an offence against society, for which they deserve to be punished. By producing an unprovided offspring, they have made an unwarranted draft on the funds of their country,—they have gratified themselves, without the smallest title, at the expence of their neighbours, and run in debt to society, without obtaining society's permission. For this trespass, more reasonably than for a debt contracted with the lender's leave, the penalty might be a deprivation of that liberty which has been enjoyed but to be abused. We need not force the culprits into a gaol, but even though they should be capable of maintaining themselves, we might properly place them in a workhouse. A workhouse is an object of great horror to the English peasantry, and they have always been found willing to forego almost any gratifications, rather than become its inmates,—the object is to deter the poor from undue increase : and it seems in every way desirable to take advantage of this prevalent aversion.

During the residence of these trespassers, they should be compelled to labour sedulously ; and in order to prevent parents from leaving their children and running away, all persons should be prohibited from changing the district of their abode, without producing a certificate from their last parish. And as a parish, if it be liable to maintain its poor at its own charges, may often be glad to get rid of them, and therefore

would grant certificates and other releases, under any circumstances; surely for this reason alone, if no other arguments existed, there would be the greatest advantage in equalizing the poor's-rates throughout the kingdom, and keeping up the workhouses rather at the general expence, than at that of the respective parishes.

The arguments which prove that the production of unprovided existence is a heinous offence, will also establish the delinquency of those who, when unincumbered with offspring, apply for parochial support. These persons too are unlicensed borrowers from the property of their neighbours, and such loans should be strenuously discouraged. Except in the above-mentioned cases of faultless misfortune, no parochial relief should be given to any of the poor at their home, whether they had families or not. The workhouses should be the only refuge. Those who should not have been proud enough to hold themselves above the necessity of alms, could have little title to be too proud for a work-house. All the residents should be closely watched: strict regulations should be observed as to labour, relaxation, sleep, meals, and religious exercises: and the greatest possible care should be taken to prevent improper intercourse of every kind. And in order that these abodes might never be considered as tempting asylums, they ought to be conducted, in regard to the children, with very great frugality: and, as to the other inmates, with the closest parsimony that could be made sufficient for providing the common necessities of the humblest life.

There seems good ground to hope, from the general dislike of workhouses and of forced labour, that most persons, unincumbered with children, would be deterred from falling upon the parishes, and that the mischiefs of undue procreation would be restrained, not only from any thing like an enlargement, but, except in a few unruly instances, from any serious oppressive operation upon the state; more particularly as much might be expected, from that general education and that diffu-

sion of knowledge, which necessarily enter into every rational system for improving the poor. The marriage of persons who may throw illegitimate offspring upon the parish, ought not to be promoted by the terrors of gaols, and by the rest of those influences which parish-officers have the power of employing. Such marriages, as Mr. Malthus very justly observes, are not only impolitic, inasmuch as they tend to produce further offspring for the incumbrance of the public, but indecent, as they are a mockery on the institutions which the church has consecrated. The cohabitation of already-married people in the workhouses may also appear objectionable, as equally tending to increase existence: and this consequence would obviously happen to a certain point. However there is not the same indecency as in the case of a marriage forced by the parish: and if the poor who should bring themselves to a workhouse were as few as there seems reason to think they would be, the procreation can hardly extend itself so as to become dangerous.

However heavy be the offence of forcing unprovided beings upon the public, and however necessary be such punishments as should prevent that offence from increasing, yet probably we ought not to put it beyond the reach of all redemption. The unincumbered paupers are indeed guilty, and so are the parents, but neither class is for ever inexcusable—and as to the children, they are entirely innocent. Each person, therefore, whether unincumbered pauper, or parent, or child, might, after having resided for a certain period, proportioned as nearly as possible to the merits of the case, and upon shewing that he or she had fair prospect of a decent livelihood elsewhere, be permitted to quit the workhouse. And parents, having thus redeemed themselves, might be allowed, on proving sufficient means of maintenance, to redeem their children also.

Among the arguments employed by the enemies to the preventive check, is the danger of causing such a scarcity of very

poor people, as will raise the real price of labour, and thereby not only increase our difficulties in recruiting our armies and navies, but probably enable foreign nations to undersell us in manufactures. By the system now proposed, these dangers, if indeed they be important enough to be placed for a moment in competition with any scheme for the happiness of the people at large, might be in some degree obviated, though such an obviation is by no means necessary to the existence of the system itself.

The inhabitants of the workhouses then, in order to the repayment of the expences incurred by their country, in their subsistence, might be either employed in manufactures for foreign sale, or sometimes, if males, sent, without the charge of bounty-money, into the army and navy. Labourers maintained upon the regimen just stated, would have lived at very small cost: and the product of their labour might therefore be afforded at so much lower a rate than the product of ordinary toil, as in some degree to counteract the advantages which the cheapness of labour abroad affords to our foreign competitors. The profit, that is to say the whole sum gained beyond the expences of the labourer's maintenance, would be retained by the parish for public purposes.

But some persons will exclaim: "What are you doing now? You propose to employ your paupers upon manufactures for foreign sale, while you know that by your selling at inferior prices you will diminish the profit arising to the regular traders, who will consequently be obliged to lower the wages of their workmen—and yet, just now, in impeaching the statute 43d Eliz. you objected to drawing labour from the open channel to a parochial conduit, because you foresaw, that by such a course the value of ordinary workmen's labour must be sunk, and the resources of the careful and meritorious must be every day further and further invaded by less deserving persons." But this further and further invasion is not to be dreaded under the system now proposed: for though the promise of

parochial employment might tempt improvident people to multiply more and more as long as they could be furnished with this employment at their own houses, or in any other agreeable way, there is little likelihood that they would be seduced to undue increase by the prospect of hard labour in a workhouse. We must certainly regret that there should be any undue population at all: but some there probably must always be, and we cannot too often be reminded that to maintain the existing numbers will be by no means a difficult task, if we can but prevent their augmentation. The employment of these paupers might certainly tend to diminish the resources of more provident labourers; but let these respectable persons consider, that the whole of society must contribute something toward the support of the disadvantageous appendage, and that they may justifiably allow a slight reduction in the real value of labour, when all the voluntary charities, and the whole of the original contribution for the establishment of the workhouses, and any deficiencies that may happen in the funds of those workhouses, are advanced entirely by the higher classes. Such a reduction will be a very slight inconvenience in comparison with those depressions in the real, though not perhaps always in the nominal price of labour, which must happen during the oscillations of a state where an undue population is grinding itself against the boundaries of subsistence. And small as is the evil of the reduction that might be caused by the proposed competition from the parish, even that evil would be lightened if not counterbalanced, by the advantage that the country would receive in continuing to possess that foreign vent for her manufactures, which was otherwise in danger of being totally closed by the high price of domestic labour. The principle of the foregoing observations will be equally applicable to the danger of diminishing the bounty or pay of the forces at large, by the cheap enrollment of parochial recruits.

However, let it be repeated, that these modifications of the system are suggested merely as a lenitive for the alarms of

those people who above every thing dread such an increase in the value of labour as would thin our armies and navies, and impair our sales in foreign ports: for the principle of this system would not be at all deteriorated, if the parish, instead of lowering in price the commodities produced by its dependents, which, to be sure, it could easily afford to do, and, withholding the bounties from parochial recruits, should sell the commodities at the usual market-prices, and grant the bounties as upon voluntary enrollment. But, for reasons too long to be stated at present, the price of labour does not seem likely to be higher in the one mode than in the other.

Perhaps it will be said, that these proposals are inconsistent with the spirit of English liberty. But the liberty of England, as well as of any other duly-regulated state, is forfeited by every act which makes that liberty dangerous to the community. Confinement is not a new punishment among us: it is inflicted by our laws, and in much more irksome modes too, for offences far less heinous than those here pointed out. Certainly, however, the present suggestions were never designed to place the intruding or even the obtruded poor, upon a level with persons who shall have established a right to their situation in the world. Shall those exclaim against the system, who, after having been brought up to live upon the produce of their own or their progenitors' industry, or after having been dismissed from the care of the parish, think fit, while yet unincumbered with children, to solicit alms? Shall the parents think themselves aggrieved? Surely not. They have run in debt to society by encroaching on its funds, and they must try to work out the payment of that debt. Till they have worked it out, their children are retained in pledge; when the arrear is liquidated, the pledge is restored. But if the arrear is never liquidated by a parent, whose complaint is thus of course put aside, then have the children a right to complain, and call themselves slaves, and impeach their country? No: the mode of their introduction into society may have been

their own misfortune but it was not their country's fault: and if their country alleviates that misfortune, the benefaction must be made upon the benefactor's terms. These people, at worst, are in no harder situation than the emigrants to America, who are obliged to sell their labour for a certain number of years, in order to pay the expences of the passage and of the settlement in the new abode. And of course there is no wish of practically enforcing any article of this plan without ample and intelligible notice to the poor.

Yet perhaps there are two cases in which a murmur might not seem altogether unjust.

The first is the case of the persons who can earn a part of their maintenance, but not the whole, and therefore wish for some assistance from the public, but do not like to incur the absolute and complete dependence of the workhouse. Yet if we are ever to afford any relief, except in the workhouse, where can we draw the line? Must we not thus give assistance to every claimant, as we do now, and let in all the mishiefs of the present laws?

The second case is that of the persons who have fallen into decay by blameless distress: and here the remedy of the workhouse undoubtedly seems harsh. But we cannot entrust to the officers of the poor a discretionary power of relieving those with especial liberality whose distress has been independent of their own fault: for thus we should be opening a door to every kind of partiality and oppression, and the proper objects of relief would hardly ever be the objects relieved.

The cases are certainly unfortunate: but it is necessary ever to bear in mind that irrefragable axiom above quoted from Mr. Malthus. "Hard as it may appear in individual instances, dependent poverty ought to be held disgraceful," &c. Yet private charity may advantageously operate where public dispensations are not to be trusted: for though to confide the funds of relief to the discretion of public officers may be only to encourage injustice; yet private charity is an appella-

tive and equitable jurisdiction, with powers that are in their very essence absolutely discretionary. Here the same abuses will not exist; for the charitable individual bestows his own money, and of course bestows it only where he thinks it will do good: but the officer of the poor bestows the money of the public. Private benefactions are always uncertain: and as no one can calculate on their arrival, few will become imprudent in the expectation of them. They are seldom ill-bestowed. They might be afforded in the above-mentioned case of partial ability to work: or, if this case be thought objectionable, at any rate in all cases of blameless distress. All kinds of charity that do not tend to create abuses by reproducing a demand for charity, are necessarily advantageous. Foundling-hospitals, if they should become general, would be an evil almost beyond endurance, because the relief tends to reproduce the occasions for relief; but hospitals for the cure of fractured limbs are desirable institutions, because, as Mr. Malthus observes, they will never induce any body to break his bones. This principle is applicable to the relief of unforeseen distress, of old age, of sickness, and of some other ills.

If the plans here proposed tend rather to reduce the existing quantity of dependent poverty than to favour a further increase: if they provide support for a moderate number of blameable but unhappy people, without materially depressing the condition of more worthy persons: then nothing here is inconsistent with the principles of Mr. Malthus. It would be madness to expect that a system proposed by so obscure an individual as the author of these pages, should be readily adopted and carried into execution; particularly, as the abolition of the existing poor-laws would necessarily be a measure so obnoxious to the mass of the people, that a government must have more than ordinary firmness to hazard the repeal of them. Yet that this repeal is vitally important, has been irrefragably proved by the *Essay on the Principle of Population*: and the treatment suggested by that work, to be proper for the poor in

case of a repeal, will doubtless, though some objections may fairly arise, be acknowledged; on almost every hand, as infinitely more gentle and more conducive to the genuine interests of humanity, than the existing system with all its specious charities. The efforts hazarded in the present article would be most highly recompensed, if, at any remote time, and under any modification, they should be applied to soften the tone of certain proposals, which, as they vibrate through the *Essay*, cast some slight but perceptible discords across the harmony of its general tenderness.

That excellent work cannot be too frequently in the hands of the good and of the wise. It expands our views, and it improves our feelings. We learn, indeed, that much is to be done—that much is to be endured, for we were sent into this world of trial for the very purposes of action and of suffering: but we are reminded, that vice and misery, even if they be necessary evils in our present condition, may cease to be necessary evils, when our own self-denial, perseverance, industry, and knowledge, shall have intrenched us in greater security. We are encouraged to entertain a confident, though calm and gradual, expectation, that piety and instruction, with every blessing that they produce, may be gradually extended over the whole human race: the great office of informing and improving our fellow-creatures is recommended to us both from the commands of religion and from the persuasions of charity: our feelings are enlisted in alliance with our reason, and duty is held before our eyes, united with comfort and with joy.

Let us then hail our delightful hopes, and gaze upon the prospects before us. Mists may veil their distant scenery, but whatever we behold is beautiful and fair. The days, even though remote, may still arrive, when all our plans of benevolence, all the lovely visions of our fancy, shall be embodied and established. Civilization shall lift up her light amid the darkness of the uttermost realms—plenty will go abroad in her train, and peace be upon the wandering tribes. Then, all the

sciences that befriend human nature, and the arts that adorn it, and the virtues by which it is exalted, shall extend their orbit, and travel to cheer the regions of solitude and silence: the paths of the forest shall become the dwellings of men: the axe shall echo in the lion's lurking-place, and harvests wave upon the marshes of the water-snake.

THE BRITISH THEATRE, OR A COLLECTION OF PLAYS, WHICH ARE ACTED AT THE THEATRES ROYAL, FROM THE PROMPT BOOKS, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL REMARKS BY MRS. INCHBALD.—25 vols. 12mo. *Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme.* 1808.

THE plays themselves having long since past the fiery ordeal of dramatic criticism, which is always delivered in a more speedy and decisive tone than any other, cannot possibly be noticed in this review otherwise than as they are connected with the remarks, which will be examined with all the candor due to the sex and abilities of the fair authoress, yet pointing out such defects as appear the just objects of impartial criticism: the errors of folly and ignorance may be safely left unnoticed by the critics, as no one can ever consider them as examples to be followed, but those of genius and taste, may perhaps be esteemed as authorities by succeeding writers.

The remarks on each play will be considered separately in the order in which they are printed, and the general character of the whole will be given at the end. The pleader makes out his case first, and then brings evidence to establish it; but it is the duty of an impartial judge, to examine all the evidence before he presumes to decide.

Mrs. Inchbald's remarks on the *Comedy of Errors*, which is

the first in this collection, are in general just. But she would have done better, rather to have trusted to her own powers than to have followed the suggestions of others. She tells us that it is suggested by a critic, that the following lines (viz. the prologue to the *Menechmus* of Plautus, which it would be superfluous to insert here) being a translation from Plautus in 1595, might have given to Shakspeare the general plan upon which he founded this drama. Now this critical friend should have told Mrs. Inchbald, that the plan of the drama was not founded on the prologue only, but is as much an imitation of the whole play of Plautus, as Dryden's comedy of the *Two Socias* is of the *Amphitryon* of the same poet; therefore, the sentence of improbability pronounced on this piece, will fall on the Roman and not on the English poet. The remark of Mrs. Inchbald, on the defect in the representation, and which falls equally on the resemblance of Viola to her brother in *Twelfth Night*, is proper. She says,

“ In representing the pair of twin brothers on the stage, their dress is the chief part of their likeness one to the other. Thus, representation gives an additional improbability; yet it is necessary that the audience should not see with the supposed eyes of the persons of the drama, for unless the audience could distinguish one brother from another, which their companions on the stage pretend not to do, the audience themselves would be dupes to the similarity of the appearance, instead of laughing at the dupes engaged in the scene.”

This remark could only have been made by a judge of stage effect. The improbability on the Roman stage was obviated by the masks, by which one person might have been made so exactly a fac-simile of another, as not to be distinguished by the spectators, and the means the ancients used to avoid the other defect are pointed out by Plautus in the prologue to *Amphitryon*, which informs the audience of certain slight differences in the dress of the characters by which they may be distinguished.

The next play is *Romeo and Juliet*. There is one passage

in the remarks which cannot be accounted for. Mrs. Inchbald says,

“ Had the subject fallen to Otway's pen, though he would have treated it less excellently, he would have rendered it more affecting.”

It seems hardly possible to conceive, that a person so well acquainted with the English drama as Mrs. Inchbald, should not know that it actually did fall to the pen of Otway, who wrote an imitation, or rather an alteration of it, under the name of Caius Marius, and which is not at all superior in pathos to its archetype.

In the remarks on King John, it is justly observed, that Mr. C. Kemble's performance of Falconbridge comes next to that of Garrick,—but it must be added, ‘ *Longo sed proximus intervallo.*’ In the sudden transitions from heroism of sentiment to extreme playfulness, no person could ever write like Shakespeare, or act like Garrick.

In the preliminary remarks on Richard III. we find this anecdote :

“ In the reign of William and Mary, the whole first act of this play was omitted in the representation, by order of the licenser, who assigned as his reason—that the distresses of Henry VI. who is killed, in the first act, by Richard, would put weak people too much in mind of King James the Second, who was then living in exile in France.”

The fact is neither more nor less than this, that the alteration of Richard by Cibber, was not acted before it was written, for it was first performed in 1700, long after Queen Mary's death, and only two years before that of King William. It is a little singular, that Mrs. Inchbald should not have noticed Colley Cibber's alteration, though she prints the play as so altered, and so only is it ever acted.

With every possible reverence for the ladies, if Mrs. Inchbald's assertion respecting their general opinion of the merits of the first part of Henry the IV. is just, they must be very in-

competent judges of Shakspeare's dramas, and indeed of comedy in general ; her words are :

“ This is a play which all men admire, and which most women dislike. Many revolting expressions in the comic scenes, much boisterous courage in some of the graver scenes, together with Falstaff's unwieldy person, offend every female auditor, and while a facetious Prince of Wales is employed in taking purses on the high-way, a lady would rather see him stealing hearts at a ball, though the event might produce more fatal consequences.”

Why Falstaff cannot be a favourite of the ladies, shall be given in the words of the very ingenious critic, who has vindicated his character from the charge of constitutional cowardice*. Speaking of the ladies, he says, “ Should we be fortunate enough to redeem Falstaff from the imputations of cowardice, yet plain courage, I am afraid, will not serve the turn ; even their heroes I think must be in the bloom of youth, or just where youth ends, in manhood's freshest prime ; but to be ‘ Old, cold, and of intolerable entrails, to be fat and greasy, ‘ as poor as Job and as slanderous as Satan.’ Take him away, he merits not a fair trial ; he is too offensive to be turned, too odious to be touched.”

In the prefatory essay to the Merchant of Venice, there is an excellent observation on the effect of a great name on the real feelings of a modern audience, for it must be impossible that those who are delighted with the miserable pantomimes, with which the modern theatre is disgraced, can derive any real pleasure from the plays of Shakspeare, those parts excepted which afford an opportunity for the scene-painter and the musical composer to display their abilities.

“ It is worthy a moment's time to figure in imagination, how a London audience would receive such a scene as the most admired one in this comedy, were it now brought on the stage for the first time. It is to be feared, that the company in the

* Essay on the dramatic character of Sir John Falstaff, by the late Mr. M. Morgan.

side-boxes would faint, or withdraw; the galleries be in a tumult of hissing; while the pit would soberly declare, that though there was great merit in the author's writing, such things could not be tolerated in action."

The truth of this is illustrated with infinite humour by the venerable conductor of this work in a supposed newspaper critique on Othello at its first appearance*.

It is impossible to agree with Mrs. Inchbald in a remark she makes on Henry the Fifth.

"Shakspeare," she says, "was determined in this drama to expose every vanity of the Gallic foe to British ridicule, and thus, instantly after the slaughter of their numerous hosts, he displays the frivolous anxiety of the surviving nobility by the herald Mountjoy."

In the time of Henry V. and, what is more to the purpose, in the time of Shakspeare, the respect to rank and family was as high in England as in France. The Duke of Exeter seems to have expressed the distinction as strongly as the French herald, when he enumerates those of the English who fell at Agincourt,

Edward, the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk,
Sir Richard Ketley, Davy Gam, esquire,
None else of *name*, and of all other men
But five-and-twenty.

Mrs. Inchbald's censure of the incident in *Much ado about Nothing*, and the blunders of *Dogberry*, shew, that she has no high opinion of comic effect,—a thing very common with female writers, whose merit lies in the opposite extreme, pathetic incident and sentimental language.

It seems really wonderful, how any person of either sex possessing that good taste which Mrs. Inchbald is known to possess, could have passed such a decision as this on that exquisite play, *As you like it*:—

* Observer, No. 80.

“ But with every advantage to As you like it, in the performance
 “ it is more a pleasing drama, than one that gives delight. The
 “ reader will in general be more charmed than the auditor, for he
 “ gains all the Poet, which neither the scene nor action much adorn,
 “ except under particular circumstances.”

Perhaps the last sentence is applicable to all the characters of Shakspeare ; the best acting must fall short of that excellence which is painted to the mind by the hand of the poet.

Mrs. Inchbald gives the old but very improbable account of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, being written by order of Queen Elizabeth, who expressed a wish to see Falstaff in love. A high compliment is paid to the performance of this part by Cooke, but he gives rather too high a tone to it, as if trying to exemplify by his acting the hypothesis of Mr. M. Morgan, that Falstaff was no coward.

The introduction prefixed to *Henry VIII.* is occupied rather by remarks and reflections on the historical events themselves than on the merit of the drama.

On *Measure for Measure*, our fair critic very properly blames Dr. Johnson's approbation of the comic characters, for surely nothing ever was so disgustingly obscene. With regard to the conduct of Angelo, the well-known story (as it is called) of Kirk, is brought in as an illustration ; but the origin of the story is an incident that happened in the reign of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Of the truth of the story told of Kirk there seems much doubt. It was probably applied to Kirk, for the purpose of blackening the character of James, by shewing the cruelty of the agents he employed : but if it were true, it would equally blacken that of his successor, for though Kirk lost his regiment at the revolution, it was soon after restored to him by King William, who employed him in the war in Ireland, and the troops who relieved Londonderry, were commanded by him.

There is much judicious criticism in the remarks on the *Winter's Tale*. The improbability pointed out in the causeless jealousy of Leontes, in the little concern that Perdita takes

in the menaced doom of her supposed father, and in the disgraceful introduction of Florizel to the court of Sicily by a premeditated falshood, much exceeds that of the time which is supposed to have elapsed between the third and fourth acts. Mrs. Inchbald pays by far too much respect to the opinion of some of the commentators, who, always ready to find in Shakspeare every thing but what they ought to find, have sagaciously discovered, that the Winter's Tale is a continuation of Henry VIII.

Speaking of the alteration of the catastrophe of Lear, Mrs. Inchbald modestly observes,

“ It is curious and consolatory for a minor critic to observe, how the great commentators on Shakspeare differ in their opinion. Addison in his Spectator condemns Tate; Dr. Johnson commends him, both shewing excellent reasons. Then comes Steevens, who gives a better reason than all why they are all wrong.”

Addison's opinion is formed on an opinion of Aristotle, which he did not clearly understand; Dr. Johnson's was derived from his feelings; and the super-excellent decision of Steevens, was only given to introduce a vile pun on this profane line of Lucan:

“ Vietrix causa diis placuit sed victa Catoni.”

where *Catoni* is to represent the author of the tragedy of Cato, and *diis* the gods of the upper gallery.

If our fair critic had given her own opinion, there is little doubt but that it would have agreed with that of Dr. Johnson.

The following observation on Cymbeline, is cited for a reason which will be noticed by-and-by.

“ The only scene which approaches the pathetic, is that where Imogen is informed by Pisanio, of her husband's command, that she should be murdered;—and this is a vengeance so unlike the foregoing temper of an *English courtier* on similar occasions, that it appears, as if the air of Italy had, as she suspects, infected the loving Posthumus with that nation's predominant crimes, and no one heart is deeply affected by so extraordinary an occurrence.”

Every friend to Mrs. Inchbald must wish those words in italics away, which possess a degree of levity quite inconsistent with the context; and she must have known, that Shakspeare always drew the passions of human nature in general, not as they operated on the conduct either of English courtiers or Italian husbands.

The calling *Macbeth* a grand tragic opera, is surely not strictly proper, as the work of our great poet is made to derive its character from the musical additions that now always accompany its representation, the unqualified praise given by Mrs. Inchbald to this wonderful production of sublimity and horror, does honour to her taste.

From the remarks on *Julius Cæsar*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*, there is little to extract, but this passage on the latter is interesting, especially as it comes from the pen of a lady:

“ The natural contrivances of an artful woman labouring to make her conquest and her power secure, are even outdone in truth of description, by that fretful impatience with which she [*Cleopatra*] is tortured in the absence of Anthony from Egypt; by the gloom which the poet has spread throughout her whole palace while he is away, and by the silly sentences, which, during this restless period, she is impelled to utter;—

“ Where thinkest thou he is now? stands he or sits he?

“ Or does he walk? or is he on his horse?

“ silly sentences to all who never were in love, but sensible and most intelligent to all who ever were.”

Mrs. Inchbald speaks very highly of the merit of *Coriolanus*, and notwithstanding the passage just quoted, shews she is capable of feeling situations arising from other social characters of life, as well as from that which is called by way of eminence, the tender passion.

“ The hero and heroine of the drama are both so inimitably drawn, (she says) that it is impossible not to feel the deepest interest in all their conflicts.”

Every one must agree with her, when she adds, that

“ In this noble drama Mr. Kemble reaches the utmost summit of the actor's art ; his conception and execution are inimitable.”

The following just eulogium on the merit of our great bard displayed in *Othello*, is so admirably well expressed, that it would be injustice to the fair critic, to withhold it from the eye of the reader :

“ So vast is the power of the author's skill in delineating the rise and progress of sensations in the human breast, that a young and elegant female is here represented by his magic pen, as deeply in love with a Moor—a man different in complexion and features from her and her whole race—and yet without the slightest imputation of indelicacy resting upon her taste:—While the Moor in his turn dotes on her with all the transport of the most impassioned lover, yet without the smallest abatement of the rough and rigid cast of his nature.—The mutual affection of these two characters seems most forcibly to be inspired by the very opposite qualities which they each possess.”

“ There is a second contrast in this play more impressive than the foregoing. The consummate art and malignant spirit of Iago are so reverse from the generous mind and candid manners of *Othello*, that it appears like the highest point, the very zenith of the poet's genius, to have conceived two such personages not only for the same drama, but to have brought them on the stage together in almost every scene.”

Of such criticism, commendation is useless, it speaks its own merit to the mind of every intelligent reader.

Mrs. Inchbald could not possibly have passed a severer censure on the taste of a modern audience, than by the assertion, that the *Tempest* would never have become a favourite on the stage without the aid of Dryden's alteration, though it is to be feared, that it is but too well founded. The Reviewer's opinion of the additional characters, is expressed in very strong terms, in the critique on Mr. Scott's edition of Dryden's Works, in the preceding number of this Review. That a woman of Mrs. Inchbald's delicacy should have hinted at such characters without the severest reprehension, is surprizing, and must subject her, in some degree, to the blame she bestows on Dr. Johnson, in her remarks on *Measure for Measure*.

The last of the plays of Shakspeare that falls under the cri-

tical eye of Mrs. Inchbald, is *Twelfth Night*, the remarks on which (undoubtedly a very interesting play) are rather too severe, and certainly her judgment is not correct, when she supposes the clown to be a real fool. Of Mrs. Jordan's Viola, as it is mentioned, more ought to have been said: the justice which that incomparable actress does to such a part, and especially her charming recitation of that passage which begins with "She never told her love—" contrasted with her performance of Miss Peggy, in *The Country Girl*, shews a versatility of talents not possessed by any player since the time of Garrick.

With *Twelfth Night*, Mrs. Inchbald's remarks on Shakspeare conclude, and here the Reviewer will pause for a while. Observations on the minor poets of the British drama, are of inferior consequence, when compared with those on its grand luminary, especially as observations on Shakspeare have employed such a host of critics of all descriptions, wise and unwise, learned and unlearned. But the remarks of Mrs. Inchbald, demand a particular attention, from her being the first female who has engaged in this field of criticism; (for the celebrated Essay of Mrs. Montague, is rather a confutation of censure, thrown by Voltaire and the French critics on our illustrious poet, than a critique on his works.) That Mrs. Inchbald is not qualified, like many of the commentators, to hunt out all the obsolete words used by Shakspeare, through all the labyrinths of black-lettered learning, many of which might be better explained by recurring to the kitchen and the nursery, will be readily allowed; but of feeling and interest, her own works, both dramatic and narrative, proclaim her an excellent judge, and in this respect she also derives an additional advantage from her sex, since, as is observed by an ingenious writer, "Men are often as ignorant of the powers of the heart, as women are of those of the understanding." *

Mrs. Inchbald differs also from almost all the other critics,

* Greville's Maxims.

in this ; she points out defects as well as beauties, and the faults she chiefly points out are those of which she is particularly qualified to judge, as those arising from deficiency of pathos and of interest.

With regard to the first ; in that species of the pathetic, which calls forth tears either in the reading or the representation, Shakspeare is surpassed by many very inferior writers ; and, notwithstanding the Reviewer of this article once got a reprimand from a very respectable critic, for the assertion from his own feelings, he must still think that the peculiar excellence of Shakspeare does not lie in "opening the sacred source of sympathetic tears." On this account, it must be, that Mrs. Inchbald says, that the story of Romeo and Juliet was not so affecting in the hands of Shakspeare, as she supposes it might have been in those of Otway, who excelled in that species of the pathetic which excites tears : but surely there can be no doubt of its being deeply affecting, exciting those sensations, which like many, resulting from distresses in real life, press too strongly on the heart, to find relief from any effusion from the eyes.

The charge of a want of interest in the plays of Shakspeare, is a heavy one indeed, and which, if proved, would go far towards annihilating all his merit as a dramatic poet, it therefore claims serious attention. The cause of the objection is obvious. Mrs. Inchbald has no taste whatever for comic dialogue or incident ; nor can she find much interest in any serious story, in which pathetic incident is not predominant, "She is for a tear or a tale of love, or else she sleeps." This is not meant as any reflection on her taste ; it is the general taste of her sex. She herself says in her remarks on the tragedy just mentioned,

"Romeo and Juliet, with all the genuine merit of this play, seldom attracts an elegant audience. The company that frequent the side-boxes, will not come to a tragedy, unless to weep in torrents ; and Romeo and Juliet will not draw even a copious shower of tears."

If this is the taste of the ladies, and there seems no reason to question the judgment of Mrs. Inchbald in this case, they would do well to confine their attention to the *comédie larmoyante*, which certainly will afford a more copious torrent of tears than the most pathetic effusion of the Tragic Muse. This is not written as any reflection on that charming sex, whose sensibility of heart is one of their most bewitching attractions :—a woman weeping over a love-tale, is infinitely more bewitching than one attentive to a lecture on oxygen ; but the circumstance shews the reason why the representation of the dramas of Shakspeare are not popular in general, viz. that they are not attractive to that part of the audience who form the principal ornament of the theatre. We go to see Mrs. Siddons in *Constance*, and Mr. Kemble in *Coriolanus*,—while the other parts, however respectably performed, are hardly attended to ; for, to use the words of a modern writer—

“ Shakspeare’s ador’d in these degenerate days,
To him we hymns inscribe, and temples raise,
Worship his image, and neglect his plays.”

The part already reviewed does not quite include the fifth part of the whole work, but though the observations on what remains, from not possessing so much interest, might not much exceed in bulk what has been already written, they would exceed the limits of this Review, and must be deferred to a succeeding Number.

CÆLEBS IN SEARCH OF A WIFE.—*London, Cadell & Davies.*
2 Vols. 8vo. 12s.

Nothing is so easily excited as public curiosity : a whisper wakens it, it is all agitation, till its nervous impatience is gra-

tified ; the weakest stimulant produces a temporary delirium, and it becomes incapable of discrimination. It is equally eager in the pursuit of trifles as of objects of the highest importance ; it watches with the same anxiety the movements of an opera-dancer, as it does those of a conqueror aiming at universal empire ; it runs with equal eagerness to the playhouse to see a new actor, as to the Tabernacle to hear a new apostle of Methodism ; it finds as much entertainment in *Mother Goose* as in a SACRED DRAMA

“ It excites universal attention—all the world is mad to read it—it is a fact, that three editions are printing at the same time at three different offices.” Such was the account I received of CÆLEBS from my friend, who sent me the *fifth* edition. This, however, was no evidence of the merits of the work ; it proved only the powerful influence of curiosity : people crowd to see an ourang-outang, but it does not, therefore, follow that they consider it beautiful. If extensive and rapid circulation were admitted as a standard of excellence, in what rank would the author of CÆLEBS place TOM PAINE’s *Age of Reason* ?

There is a sort of quackery in all trades, which is well understood in the present day ; and it is wonderful how easily the public is allured by it, how easily deceived by shadows, and imposed on by appearances. The keeper of a lottery-office hires a man with a lucky name to be his partner,—the publican takes advantage of popular enthusiasm, and invites customers by adopting for his sign the favourite hero of the day,—the practised dealer in literature acts on the same principle. To have fairly and candidly intitled the work now under consideration, “ SERIOUS DIALOGUES ON FAITH AND GOOD WORKS,” (and, in fact, this is the only title which can with propriety be given to it,) would neither have answered the author’s nor bookseller’s purpose. The sale would have been chiefly confined to that particular class, of whom the author may justly be considered

the principal luminary ; and as they are already enlightened on the subject, which the work discusses, to them it would neither have been new nor necessary. But the author had probably good reason to know, that there is a much more numerous class of persons, to whom a bachelor in search of a wife, is an object of the highest interest, that such persons devour with the greatest avidity every thing which is presented to them in the shape of a novel, and that their appetites would be rendered still keener where the present pleasure would be heightened by the anticipation of future profit ; where, in fact, they might expect to learn what, in such a search, a bachelor would be most likely to look for, and might prepare themselves accordingly. Nor could it escape observation, that this curiosity would be greatly heightened, if the work were represented to be the production of one, whose opinion on such a subject, any peculiar circumstances of character or conduct might have rendered particularly interesting.

For such a purpose no name could have been so happily chosen as that of Miss Hannah More, whose wisdom, virtue, and piety have been held forth as patterns, which people would do well to imitate, but could scarcely hope to equal ; who, after a long life of unrelenting celibacy (let the world say what it will) is still the good Miss Hannah, propagating nothing but novels for conventiclers, and suckling none but babes of grace with the pure milk of divine love. It must be evident, how eagerly the supposed opinion of such persons on such a subject, would be consulted ; most people would be curious to know her thoughts on a matter, respecting which there was so little reason to suppose she had thought at all.

It is immaterial to the question, whether Miss More is in reality the author of the work ; it was sufficient to produce the necessary effect that she is the reputed author. Yet even her name would not have given circulation to the work, but for the false colours under which it was launched—*CÆLEBS* would

have sought a wife to little purpose perhaps, had he not been reported to be the offspring of Miss Hannah, and her offspring would not have been noticed at all had he not assumed an appearance and title to which he has not the least pretension. By this combination, however, the opinions and principles of the author, whoever the author may be, have been more widely disseminated, than they could have been in any other way; for they were presented under a disguise which excited no suspicion; and have been, in consequence, admitted into all company. Yet it is difficult to reconcile such a proceeding with the express declaration of the author, that there is no such thing as a harmless falsehood; that—

“ One successful falsehood, on the plea of doing good, would necessarily make way for another, till the limits which divide right and wrong would be completely broken down, and every distinction between truth and falsehood utterly confounded; that if such latitude were allowed, even to obtain some good purpose, it would gradually debauch all human intercourse. The smallest innovation would naturally induce a pernicious habit, endanger the security of society, and violate an express law of God.”—
Vol. II. p. 92.

And that, in short, even if by falsehood, a life could be preserved, or one's country saved, a lie would not be allowable; for that—

“ The infinite power of God can never stand in need of the aid of a weak mortal to help him out of his difficulties. If he sees fit to preserve the life, or to save the country, he is not driven to such shifts. Omnipotence can extricate himself, and accomplish his own purpose, without endangering an immortal soul.”—
Vol. II. p. 94.

Now though it would be want of charity to suppose, that the author's motives for deviating from the strict rule here laid down were not in themselves well intentioned, it would be a want of common sense not to perceive the deviation. That, which from the title would be concluded to be the principal subject of the work, forms the least and most subordinate part of

it: on the same principle the whole tragedy of Macbeth, because it contains the witches' incantation over their cauldron, might be hashed up in some new system of Domestic Cookery, and intitled, 'A curious receipt to make Hell-broth.'

The author is aware of these objections, and attempts a defence: but no defence had been necessary, had no deception been practised. The reader is told, that he must not "look for adventures, but content himself with the every-day details of common-life," Pref. p. iv. It is anticipated, that the novel-reader will reject the work as dull, Pref. p. v. but, it is added, "to entertain that description of readers makes no part of my design." Now, if it was not the author's intention to attract the novel-readers, why is the appearance and character of a novel so studiously given to the work? And it is only from the consciousness of this intention, that the work really has this appearance, that the author could suppose it was likely to fall into the hands of the novel-reader, from whose criticism it had been secure, and by whose eyes it had been profaned, had not its serious character been concealed under a mask. It is as if a drunkard were enticed into a house by a sign, with the usual inscription of, 'Good Entertainment for Man and Horse,' and upon entrance should find himself in a Methodist meeting. The man perhaps had better be there than at the public house, but according to our author he ought not to have been kidnapped into *serious* company.

It has been necessary to dwell thus long at the threshold, to remove the false impressions and expectations, which may have been raised by exterior appearances. In following the steps of a man professedly setting out in search of a wife, some entertainment might naturally have been expected: but Cœlebs disdains to amuse, it is his higher ambition to enlighten and improve. He is, in fact, a young saint, and has a much better title to the distinction of pious, than Virgil's hero, who, it must be confessed, had some fashionable failings, while the purity of Cœlebs is not stained by a single blemish. He makes

love by declaiming on the comparative merit of faith and good works; and, it is of dialogues on this and other religious topics, that the work is almost entirely composed. It is admitted, indeed, that “the texture of the narrative is so slight, “that it barely serves for a ground into which to weave the “sentiments and observations which it was designed to introduce,” Pref. p. vii. The reader, who would rather be inclined to impute this admission to the author’s diffidence, will be surprized to find it literally true. A man who goes to a friend’s house to dinner, on a *pot-luck* invitation, as it is vulgarly called, does not expect to be set down merely to a hashed scrag of mutton.

By these observations, it is not intended to insinuate, that the merit of a production is to be decided by the amusement it affords: they are meant merely to place the work before us in a right point of view. A book may possess much higher recommendations than wit or fancy, which may indeed amuse by their brilliancy, but are infinitely less useful than the sober light of reason and morality. To wit or fancy *Cœlebs* can lay no claim; it remains to be considered, how far it is entitled to attention, as containing a system of moral and religious duty.

It is the professed object of the author to shew, that material defects exist in fashionable education; that females of the higher class might combine more domestic knowledge with more intellectual acquirement, and that they might be at the same time more knowing and more useful, than has always been thought necessary or compatible; but, above all, it is intended by the work to shew, how religion may be brought to mix with the concerns of ordinary life without impairing its activity, lessening its cheerfulness, or diminishing its usefulness, Pref. p. x. With this view, various characters are brought forward on the canvass, which, in general, are well drawn, and nicely discriminated; but in the attempt to mark with precision “the different shapes and shades of error in various “descriptions of society, not only in those worldly persons

“ who do not quite leave religion out of their schemes, but
 “ even in some of those who would be astonished not to find
 “ themselves reckoned altogether religious,” (*Pref. p. ix.*)—
 the author has gone too much into detail, and has given to the
 whole performance a rigid, formal, and unnatural air. This
 stiffness is much increased by the style of execution which has
 been adopted; though for this an apology is offered on the
 plea, “ that when the subjects were serious, the dialogue would
 “ not, in every instance, bend to such facilities, nor break into
 “ such small parcels as may easily be effected in the discus-
 “ sion of *topics of gayer intercourse.*” *Pref. p. viii.* The
 apology might have been more readily admitted, if the dis-
 tinction which it makes had been more clearly defined; but it
 is not very easy to comprehend the nature of *topics of gayer*
intercourse.

The principal characters introduced in the work are, Mr.
 STANLEY, and his daughter LUCILLA: CÆLEBS himself can
 only be considered as the nominal hero, while, in fact, he is
 their pupil. Mr. STANLEY personifies the author’s idea of
 perfection in man; LUCILLA is intended for a finished model
 of female excellence. Every virtue which can adorn human
 nature, is possessed by both in its utmost purity.

Mr. STANLEY regularly reads prayers to his family twice
 a day, never misses his church, nor neglects to ask his rector
 to dinner on a Sunday; is earnest to convert his less pious
 neighbours, and never spares his labours when any scriptural
 subject is to be discussed; he goes to no plays, and suffers
 “ no vagabond players to supply the wants of the day, and in-
 “ dulge their improvident habits in his neighbourhood,”—
Vol. I. p. 412: by him no professor of what are called the fine
 arts is encouraged: he goes upon the ground—

“ That to an intellectual being, diversions must always be sub-
 “ ordinate to the exercise of mental faculties; that to an immortal
 “ being, born to higher hopes than enjoyments, the exercise of the
 “ mental faculties must be subservient to religious duties. That in

“ the practice of a Christian, self-denial is the turning point, the
“ specific distinction. That as to many of the pleasures which the
“ world pursues, Christianity requires her votaries to live above
“ the temptations which they hold out. She requires it the more
“ especially, because Christians in our time, not being called upon
“ to make great and trying sacrifices of life, of fortune, and of
“ liberty; and having but comparatively small occasions to evidence
“ their sincerity, should the more cheerfully make the petty but,
“ daily renunciation of those pleasures which are the very element
“ in which worldly people exist.” Vol. II. p. 418.

Yet this character is stigmatised by his neighbours as a Methodist! While every action of his life, every word, and every thought, are strictly regulated by the law of Scripture: to borrow an expression of the author, Mr. STANLEY is a genuine Bible Christian.

LUCILLA is no less devoutly pious than her father, and is ever ready to join in a labour of love. Her piety is thus described :—

“ Miss Stanley is governed by a simple, practical end, in all her
“ religious pursuits. She reads her Bible, not from habit, that
“ she may acquit her herself of a customary form; not to exercise
“ her ingenuity by allegorizing literal passages, or spiritualizing
“ plain ones, but that she may improve in knowledge, and grow in
“ grace. She accustoms herself to meditation, in order to get her
“ mind more deeply imbued with a sense of eternal things. She prac-
“ tices self-examination, that she may learn to watch against the first
“ rising of bad dispositions, and to detect every latent evil in her
“ heart. She lives in the regular habit of prayer; not only that she
“ may implore pardon for sin, but that she may obtain strength
“ against it. She told me one day when she was ill, that if she did
“ not constantly examine the actual state of her mind, she should
“ pray at random, without any certainty what particular sins she
“ should pray against, or what were her particular wants. She has
“ read much Scripture and little controversy. There are some doc-
“ trines that she does not pretend to define, which she yet practi-
“ cally adopts. She cannot perhaps give you a disquisition on the
“ mysteries of the Holy Spirit, but she can, and does fervently,
“ implore his guidance and instruction; she believes in his efficacy,
“ and depends on his support.”

A few more familiar touches are added to the character of LUCILLA by Mrs. COMFIT her father's housekeeper. The

following is the account she gives to CŒLEBS, who is got *tête-à-tête* with the old woman before breakfast, to learn all he can of the characters of the family :—

“ In summer Miss Stanley rises at six, and spends two hours in her closet, which is stored with the best books. At eight, she consults me on the state of provisions, and other family matters, and gives me a bill of fare, subject to the inspection of her mamma. The cook has great pleasure in acting under her direction, because she allows that Miss understands when things are well done, and never finds fault in the wrong place ; which, she says, is a great mortification in serving ignorant ladies, who praise or find fault by chance ; not according to the cook’s performance, but their own humour. She looks over my accounts every week, which being kept so short, give her but little trouble, and once a month she settles every thing with her mother.”

LUCILLA’s knowledge of cookery is on one occasion particularly turned to good account, and proves, that there is a much nearer connection between religion and ragouts than is generally suspected : a good Catholic might draw an argument from it to vindicate the alleged luxury of the monastic order.

Mr. CARLTON, a visitor at Stanley-grove, is united to an amiable woman, whom he did not love, and among the many reasons for his dislike, her piety was the principal. He treats her with the cruellest indifference, which she bears with Christian meekness. Some circumstances, however, at length awaken him to a sense of his wife’s goodness, but he is still too proud to confess any remorse. One day they dine at Stanley-grove. It is Mr. Stanley who tells the story :—

“ Carlton had always been much addicted to the pleasures of the table. He expressed high approbation of a particular dish, and mentioned again when he got home, how much he liked it. The next morning, Mrs. Carlton wrote to Lucilla to beg the receipt for making this ragout : and when he returned from his solitary ramble and “compunctious visitings,” the favourite dish, most exquisitely dressed, was produced at his dinner. He thanked her for this obliging attention, and turning to the butler, directed him to tell the cook, that no dish was ever so well dressed. Mrs. Carlton blushed when the honest butler said, ‘Sir, it was my mistress dressed it with her own hands, because she knew your honour was fond of it.’

“Tears of gratitude rushed into Carlton’s eyes, and tears of joy overflowed those of the old domestic, when his master, rising from the table, tenderly embraced his wife, and declared he was unworthy of such a treasure. ‘I have been guilty of a public wrong, Johnson, (said he to his servant,) and my reparation shall be as public. I can never deserve her, but my life shall be spent in endeavouring to do so.’ An augmented cheerfulness on the part of Mrs. Carlton invited an increased tenderness on that of her husband. He began every day to discover new excellencies in his wife, which he readily acknowledged to herself and to the world. The conviction of her worth had gradually been producing esteem, esteem now ripened into affection, and his affection for his wife was mingled with a blind sort of admiration of that piety which had produced such effects; viz. *ragouts*.”

From this time Mr. Carlton began to lead a sober and godly life, and in time, by the effects of *ragouts*, was converted into a *serious* character.

The pious Lucilla sheds tears of holy rapture over the conversion of Carlton. She tells her lover Cœlebs,

“Oh he is all we could wish. He is a thoroughly converted man! My poor friend is at last quite happy. I know you will rejoice with us. Mr. Carlton has for some time regularly read the Bible with her. Last Saturday he said to her, ‘Henrietta, you intend to go to Heaven without your husband. I know you always retire to your dressing-room, not only for your private devotions, but to read prayers to your maids. What have your men-servants done, what has your husband done, that they should be excluded? Is it not a little selfish to confine your zeal to the eternal happiness of your own sex? Will you allow me and our men-servants to join you? To-morrow is Sunday, we will then, if you please, begin in the hall. You shall prepare what you would have read; and I will be your chaplain.’” Vol. II. p. 199.

These interrogatories of the converted Mr. Carlton are, like Akenside’s poetry, hereafter described, *at once enchanting and unintelligible*. He had been for some time regularly reading the Bible with his wife, and yet knows that she intends to go to Heaven without a husband. We must hope this will not be even Miss Hannah More’s case; but in Henrietta Carlton’s it is palpably unfair, especially when her good man

had been so regular at his Bible. He charges her with retiring into her dressing-room to read prayers to the maids, and shutting out the men-servants; this was surely no bad precaution on the part of Mrs. Carlton; yet he asks what the men have done that they should be excluded? Perhaps it would have been as proper to have put this question to the maids; but having so lately thrown off his own evil habits, he was not quite sure that his footmen and stable-boys were reformed, and says to his lady—"Is it not a little selfish to confine your zeal to the eternal happiness of your own sex?" This it might have been, if she had shut out the maids also, and confined herself to private prayer; but unless it can be made a proof of *selfishness* to show a concern for the eternal happiness of others, I should suspect the new convert only talked nonsense; and though he proposed himself to be her chaplain at the next day's lecture in the hall, it may well be doubted if he was qualified for the office.

As LUCILLA is, in every respect, so exactly what young ladies ought to be, all that relates to her is of importance to note.

"Though she has a correct ear, she neither sings nor plays; and her taste is so exact in drawing that she really seems to have *le compas dans l'œil*; yet I never saw a pencil in her fingers, except to sketch a seat or a bower for the pleasure-ground." Vol. I. p. 187.

But, if from principle she thus abjures the pleasures of the dissipated part of the world, she indulges herself in the study of Latin, and reads every morning with her papa some of the best Roman classics. She is so extremely modest, however, that she keeps her knowledge an entire secret from her friends; and when by accident it was discovered, one afternoon, when she had nearly finished making tea, she blushed excessively, and

"After putting the sugar into the cream-pot, and the tea into the sugar-bason, slid out of the room, beckoning Phœbe to follow her." Vol. II. p. 220.

In her absence, the question of the propriety of young ladies learning the dead languages, particularly Latin, is debated at length, and carried in the affirmative, *nem. diss.* It is rather curious, that the author, in so material a part of education, should be so entirely ignorant, as to make a false concord in the only Latin quotation introduced in the work. A school-boy who had learned the first page of his Syntax, would not have written, ‘if the *molliora tempora fandi*, does not present itself.’ Vol. I. p. 139: it is true this is corrected in the table of *Errata*, but it is evidently no typographical blunder.

But LUCILLA, besides her great scriptural and classical knowledge, and her profound acquaintance with all the mysteries of cookery, has an ardent passion for gardening. She has a little garden of her own, and a nursery of her own, which she cultivates at her own expence, and supplies from it the gardens and orchards of the villagers with apple-trees, and pear-trees, and rose-trees. And then she and her sisters make up nosegays, which they give to a little flower-girl to carry to market and sell, to maintain her grandmother. But the all-perfect LUCILLA is afraid, that this is too great a luxury for a real Bible Christian.

“ ‘LUCILLA,’ says her mother to CÆLEBS, ‘is half a nun. She likes the rule, but not the vow!’ [Query, is the vow of chastity meant?] Poor thing! her conscience is so tender, that she oftener requires encouragement than restraint.—She came to me one day, and said, that her gardening work so fascinated her, that she found whole hours passed unperceived, and she began to be uneasy by observing, that all cares and all duties were suspended, while she was disposing beds of carnations or knots of anemones. Even when she tore herself away, and returned to her employment, her flowers still pursued her, and the improvement of her mind gave way to the cultivation of her geraniums. ‘I am afraid,’ said the poor girl, ‘that I must really give it up.’ I would not hear of this. I would not suffer her to deny herself so pure a pleasure. She then suggested the expedient of limiting her time, and hanging up her watch in the conservatory to keep her within her prescribed bounds. She is so observant of this restriction, that when her allotted time is expired, she forces herself to leave off in the midst of the most interesting operation.’ I told Mrs. Stanley, that

“ I had observed her watch hanging in a citron-tree the day I came, but little thought it had a moral meaning.” Vol. II. p. 113.

What a paragon is this LUCILLA! Where can her equal be found, except among the young Saints, whose lives are recorded among the EVANGELICANA of the *Evangelical Magazine*? Upon hearing this account of her, CŒLEBS only regrets, that his parents are no longer living, to witness her perfection; yet,

“ Even from their blessed abode, my grateful heart seems to hear them say, ‘ This is the creature we would have chosen for thee! ‘ This is the creature with whom we shall rejoice with thee through all eternity!’ ” Vol. II. p. 114.

The first time, however, that LUCILLA betrays any symptom of affection for Cœlebs, is on an occasion, when he has discovered her reading some penitential psalms to a dying old woman. Having stolen some roses at the door of a cottage, he enters to acknowledge the theft, but finding no one, and attracted by the sound of a soft female voice, he steals softly up stairs, and peeps into a bed-chamber. Now if this soft female voice had belonged to a pretty cottager, who had been reading some love-story in this bed-chamber, it is impossible to say, what might have been the consequences: for it is known that Saints are amorous, and this ‘ stealthy pace’ looked rather suspicious in Cœlebs; who besides, seems to have high notions of the privileges of rank, since he acknowledges, that he “ did not feel it necessary to resist his curiosity, *considering the rank of the inhabitants!*” Vol. II. p. 278. Whatever might have been his expectations, however, on looking into this bed-chamber, he perceives LUCILLA kneeling by the side of a bed, with a large old Bible before her, reading to an old woman: while her sister PHŒBE joins in her labour of love, and is making some broth. At a particular passage of LUCILLA’s devotions, the old woman and CŒLEBS both cry Amen! LUCILLA perceives him, and,

“ Eagerly endeavouring to conceal the Bible, by drawing her hat

“over it, ‘Phœbe,’ said she, with all the composure she could assume, ‘is the broth ready?’” Vol. II. p. 281.

CÆLEBS had gently laid his roses on the hat of Miss Stanley as it lay on the Bible, and, thinking herself unobserved, she fastens the roses to her hat, and in the evening transfers them from the hat to her hair. Cœlebs is much comforted by this.

But the amusements of this holy family all “smack of the same flavour with its business and its duties;” Vol. II. p. 117. though CÆLEBS is rather alarmed for their *consistency*, when PHÆBE, who had been busily employed in trimming a flaunting yellow azalia, says to him;

“Why it is only in the Christmas month that our labours are suspended, and then we have so much pleasure that we want no business; such in-door festivities and diversions, that that dull month is with us the gayest in the year.” Vol. II. p. 111.

Cœlebs cannot rest till he knows what these Christmas diversions are. ‘He can hardly fear indeed to find at Stanley-Grove, what the newspapers pertly call *Private Theatricals*.’ It were sacrilege even to imagine the possibility of such an abomination. Still he suspects it may be some gay dissipation, not quite suited to their general character, nor congenial to their usual amusements. He has recourse to his old friend Mrs. Comfit, the housekeeper, to dissipate his doubts. From her he learns, that at that time several feasts are given to the poor:

“The house is all alive! On those days the drawers and shelves of Miss Lucilla’s store-room are completely emptied. ’Tis the most delightful bustle, Sir, to see our young ladies tying on the good women’s warm cloaks, fitting their caps and aprons, and sending home blankets to the infirm, who cannot come themselves. The very little ones kneeling down on the ground to try on the poor girls’ shoes; even little Miss Celia; and she is so tender to fit them exactly and not hurt them!” Vol. II. p. 116.

It must be regretted that Mrs. Comfit did not say whether the little Celia had corns or chilblains herself, as it would have

afforded Cœlebs a happy opportunity of displaying his classical knowledge to his friend the housekeeper, by exclaiming :

Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere discit.

By the help of the above extracts, the reader may form a tolerably correct idea of the author's system of religious and moral duty, as carried to perfection by the Stanley family. To set it off, however, more distinctly by contrast, a number of characters, each differing in some respect from the other, is introduced, whose various opinions are controverted by Mr. Stanley. Among these are some, who adopt a partial gospel, without understanding it as a scheme, or embracing it as a whole ; others who allow its truth merely on the same ground of evidence that establishes the truth of any other well-authenticated history : some who consider it a mere code of ethics ; others who assert that Christ has lowered the requisitions of morality : some who rest their hope of salvation on their charities, some on their correct observance of forms, some on their austerities, some on their orthodoxy, some on their integrity, and some on the peculiar election of their sect. To all these Mr. Stanley addresses himself, with a particular view to their individual errors ; and of course always has the best of the argument. It must be observed, however, that the author has scarcely given his antagonists fair play. Many of them are represented to be men of strong sense, great acuteness, and various learning, yet none of them can ever find a single argument to oppose to Mr. Stanley's long harangues. They merely assert, not argue, and content themselves with contradicting or withholding assent to his doctrines. This proves either the weakness or disingenuousness of the author ; there is no merit in beating an enemy unarmed, or whose weapons you have previously secured.

The most prominent among the secondary or imperfect characters are Sir John and Lady Belfield. They are described

as candid, generous, and sincere, and partaking very sparingly of the *diversions* of the world. Their standard of morals is high; they both assent to the doctrines of Christianity, and live in a kind of general hope of its final promises.

“Many a *high professor* might have blushed to see how carefully they exercised not a few Christian dispositions! how kind and patient they were! how favourable in their construction of the actions of others! how charitable to the necessitous! how exact in veracity! and how tender of the reputation of their neighbour!” Vol. I. p. 80.

Lady Belfield studies scripture too, and that so attentively as to judge of the comparative merits or interest of the several books of which it is composed. But neither she nor Sir John have a sufficiently humbling conviction of the existence of original sin, and the necessity of regeneration; they place too little dependence on the influence of grace; “they invert the valuable *superstructure* of good works, and lay them as their foundation.”—Vol. I. p. 85. In short, Cœlebs seems to entertain little doubt of their damnation if they had not gone to Stanley chapel. The views and principles of the author on this particular point, appear most clearly in the conversation between Mr. Flam and Dr. Barlow, Vol. II. chap. xlv. Good actions, it is stated, performed on any other principle than obedience to the law of God, are not only spurious in their birth, but defective in themselves; they must spring from the love of God, and the hope of reward, or else, though they may do much good to others, they will do none to ourselves. It is of no avail that there should be a general system of obedience to the law of God observed; there must be an inward sense and conviction that every particular action of kindness is done from a motive of religious duty and hope of reward in the Lord, that it arises not from any mere impulse of humanity; and that, in fact nothing human mixes with it. A man, who should in every respect observe the Divine law, and yet should not be inwardly conscious of this observance, is doomed, without ceremony, to damnation. Cœlebs, in all the pride of one of the

elect, exclaims of such a one, "why will not this good-natured man go to Heaven?"—Vol. II. p. 302.

The purity and soundness of this doctrine, together with the rest of the divinity, of which the work is composed, is left to the consideration of the reader. If just, they are so fully explained, that they require no commentary; if unjust, and founded on selfish principles, inimical to general happiness, this is not the place to controvert them. It is only intended here to give a sketch of the work, to shew of what materials it consists, and not to enter into the lists of theological controversy. This would be stepping beyond the province of a Review. Besides, how unequal would be the conflict! A simple layman, unfurnished with weapons, opposed to one of the elect wielding the arms of the spirit, and backed—perhaps by a bishop!

In the course of the work, subjects are incidentally introduced, which generally arise naturally, and are judiciously treated, and many of the sentiments, where they are not tinged with sectarianism, do honour to the heart of the author. The observation (Vol. I. p. 131.) on that class of female characters, 'who, if they occasion little sensation abroad, produce much happiness at home,' are just and sensible. In another place (Vol. I. p. 326.) the ostentation of charity is very happily ridiculed: nor can too much praise be given to the severe reprobation of the fashionable practice of admitting the most profligate libertines to familiar intercourse, while those whom they have betrayed are shunned with abhorrence. Nor will it be denied, though the author has gone into the opposite extreme, that the remarks on the great predominance of music and other fine arts in the present system of female education, are almost justified by the too great importance which is given to these attainments. There is much justice, also, in the censure which the author passes on Fielding, Smollett, and some other writers of comic romances. No good reason can certainly be assigned for their practice of singling out the person of a pious

clergyman as a peculiarly proper vehicle for the display of humour. It is observed that,

“ Even where the characters have been so pleasingly delineated
“ as to attract affection by their worth and benevolence, there is
“ always a drawback from their respectability by some trait that is
“ ludicrous, some situation that is unclerical, some incident that
“ is absurd. There is a contrivance to expose them to some awkward distress; there is some palpable weakness to undo the effect
“ of their general example, some impropriety of conduct, some
“ gross error in judgment, some excess of simplicity, which, by infallibly diminishing the dignity, weakens the influence of the
“ character, and, of course, lessens the veneration of the reader.”
And it is added, “ though we may love the man we laugh at, we
“ shall never reverence him. We may like him as a companion,
“ but we shall never look up to him as an instructor.” Vol. II.
p. 6.

While the justice of these strictures on this class of novelists is admitted, there seems to be little reason for the unqualified praise, which is given (Vol. II. p. 165.) to Richardson; though it is easy to see that the same motive which induced the preference, led the author to degrade Tully (Vol. I. p. 172.) below Johnson and Paley

The remarks of the author on our poets, dispersed through the work, evince a considerable degree of taste and judgment: though Cowper is chiefly praised for his chief defect, and his chief misfortune; and in the critique on Akenside, there is the following nonsensical passage in praise of nonsense:—

“ In reading Akenside, I have now and then found the same passage at once enchanting and unintelligible.” Vol. I. p. 90.

In the commentary too on the character of Milton's Eve, which forms a sort of introduction to the work, the following curious passage occurs, which looks rather strangely contrasted with the general formality that pervades the performance:—

“ How exquisitely conceived is her reception and entertainment
“ of Raphael! how modest, and yet how dignified! I am afraid I
“ know some husbands, who would have had to encounter very
“ ungracious looks, not to say words, if they had brought home
“ even an angel *unexpectedly* to dinner.” Vol. I. p. 5.

Of the style in which the work is written, there had been little reason to complain, had it not been disfigured by the cant of the conventicle. Instances of this will have been observed in the extracts which have been made, but much more striking instances might have been brought forward. This style, indeed, is formally vindicated, in several places, but particularly in Vol. II. p. 360, and 258, where Dr. Barlow complains, that the tone of religious conversation is much lowered in the present age, and that it is difficult for a religious man to make his meaning intelligible without giving disgust, or to be useful without causing irritation.

The following metaphor seems the genuine offspring of a love-feast. It relates to a Christian :—

“He is cheerful in a well-grounded hope, and looks not for *ex-tacies*, till that hope be swallowed up in fruition.” Vol. I. p. 64.

The author, indeed, is not always happy at illustration. It is said, (Vol. I. p. 339.) “The same lawyer never *thinks* of “presiding both in the King’s-Bench and in the Court of “Chancery.” Now this is vouching rather too readily for the conscience of lawyers. It is certain, they are not allowed to unite these offices, but who can say they never wish to do so? Another unfortunate metaphor occurs at Vol. I. p. 40, where it is said, of company at Sir John Belfield’s, “The rest of the “party were in general of quite a different calibre.” Some people might be wicked enough to say, this is making a *bore* of the party.

Some blunders now and then occur too, but one is particularly ‘curious. In the same page, (Vol. I. p. 40,) a man, whose opinions are controverted, is piqued that he meets no opposition. In such a work, no one would think of looking for false grammar; and yet, besides many instances of inelegant construction which might be pointed out, the reader will actually find (Vol. II. p. 348) that Dr. Barlow “finds Sir “John and *I* sitting in the library.”

The attempts at wit are miserable, at humour worse. Nothing can be flatter than the scene described, Vol. I. p. 44; nothing can be more absurd, except the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton, (Vol. I. p. 241,) those victims of sensibility, who smuggle the apothecary into their house, and take physic by stratagem, that they might not give alarm to each other's tenderness.

The evident tendency of this work, (for to all, who peruse it with the slightest attention, this tendency must be evident,) is to render and enforce the doctrines and practice of those, whom the world in general calls Methodists. How far this would improve the condition of society, is not necessary here to enquire: it is equally unnecessary to examine the justice of the world's hostile opinions with respect to Methodism. It is sufficient, that such opinions exist, and that it is the object of this author to undermine them. It is stated in precise and positive terms, that Mr. Stanley, the vehicle through whom the author's principles are promulgated, is what the world calls a Methodist, and by representing him as so perfect a model of virtue, it is evidently intended to shew that the world is mistaken in its opinion of Methodism. The author's own observation on Rousseau's Savoyard Vicar is perfectly in point to this purpose. "He is exhibited as a model of goodness, in order to exalt the scanty faith and unsound doctrines, of which he is made the teacher." Vol. II. p. 12. The most dangerous pit may be covered with roses. Mr. Stanley appears to approve the religion of the Established Church, and to find fault with Methodists: so might a man, who wished to pick your pocket, declaim on the sin of petty larceny. There is a good deal of jesuitical artifice in Mr. Stanley's enumeration of what the world calls infallible symptoms of Methodism, Vol. II. p. 261. It indicates a wish, on the part of the author, to arrogate for the Methodists every virtue, at the expence of the rest of the community. Until it shall be thought necessary, however, to reform the present establishment, and

until *all* our bishops shall be sufficiently enlightened and conversant with the doctrines of Methodism to be fit to become its apostles, it will be a duty incumbent on all those, who, have the welfare and happiness of their country at heart, to watch such attempts as the present, and endeavour to repel them. The attack is more dangerous as being of so insidious a nature: it works by mine and sap. It assumes the appearance of entertainment, and the author's own objection (Vol. II. p. 10) to Hobbes and Bolingbroke, to Voltaire and Gibbon, for mixing irreligion in their works, perfectly applies:—"Whatever
" is mixed up with our amusements is swallowed with more
" danger, because with more pleasure and less suspicion than
" any thing which comes under a graver name and more serious shape." CŒLEBS is in many hands: my duty is to say
—*Capeat emptor.*

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